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(Perry)

TRANSFER FROM LENOX.

TWO

DISSERTATIONS ON GOVERNMENT

WITH ITS

POPULAR ADVANCEMENT,

BY

JOSEPH. G. PERRY,

TOGETHER WITH

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE, WITH SUBJECT MATTER, OF THE AUTHOR.

Lucerna Mundi,

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PREFACE.

In proceeding, through the direction, attached to the subjects belonging to the domain of knowledge and inquiry, that which is distinguished by the simple and evident expression of government, is illustrative of a pervading sense of obligation, as well as duty. In this light reference may be seen to the Latin phrase, by which Copernicus, the astronomer, names the Sun, *lucerna Mundi*, (the lantern of the world), at once the synonym of a reality.

The two Dissertations on Government with its Popular Advancement, here presented, are descriptive of its early origin among nations of antiquity, improved in passing through the many stages of civil experience illustrating the pathway of civilized men; reaching to the period assigned to modern history, when it received an impetus distinguishing its real advance beyond all previous attainment.

This opening sphere presented to the genius of government, quickened by accompanying agencies diffusing their light and support, in adding to the general intelligence of peoples, has been singularly adorned with the noblest efforts in political science belonging to the province of duties incumbent on those living in this appointed period of the world's history.

The nature and progress of government on both continents is given within prescribed limits; containing observations deduced from historical facts fortifying the premises assumed of

its palpable advancement in all the attributes of civil and religious freedom.

Philosophical considerations, founded in reason and reflection, are presented in support of the continuity of government, having a success hitherto in the line of popular excellence, commending it to the sacred keeping of succeeding generations.

Political progress, elevating the condition of every intelligent people to their highest state of prosperous existence, may be said to be peculiarly the duty of this wonderful age in the achievements of mankind.

It is in this spirit that these Dissertations were written and first introduced to the public, in form, in 1864.

The following subject-matter, having reference to corresponding subjects and events, is subjoined, as being of contemporaneous interest, and illustrative of the progress made in public conduct, and in passing history.

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MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE OF JOSEPH G. PERRY.

JOSEPH GEORGE PERRY was born in the city of New York on the 8th of April, 1825. His parents were Joseph Perry and Lydia Peters, of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire origin. Both of his grandparents served with a good degree of distinction and usefulness, in their respective positions, in the revolutionary war, which was instrumental in establishing the freedom and independence of the thirteen colonies.

His father graduated at Dartmouth College with the class of 1811, in good standing for scholarship. This class contained a number of young men who became distinguished in after life, both in professional and political life.

His parents, though principally his father, pursued teaching immediately subsequent to this time. After having charge of Moor's Indian Charity School, at Hanover, New-Hampshire, for some time, his father taught a classical and mathematical school in the city of New York, until 1832, when he was appointed a clerk at Washington, through his friend Amos Kendall, during General Andrew

Jackson's administration. When Mr. Kendall became postmaster general, he was appointed to a principal clerkship in the postoffice department, where he remained until the election and inauguration of General William Henry Harrison, soon after which, he resigned office, and returned to his farm in Keene, New-Hampshire, where he spent the remaining days of his life.

Though occupied at this time with farming, he was a justice of the peace, and the first School Commissioner of the county in which he lived.

Both of his parents lived to quite an advanced age, realizing the allotted period of life in degree corresponding with their own experience, amid the familiar scenes of an active generation.

The subject of this biography was removed, with his mother, when less than one year and one-half old, on account of more healthful advantages, to his father's farm in Keene, New-Hampshire, where he remained and spent the most of his boyhood, learning regular farm work, like other boys raised on a farm.

He thus acquired a good knowledge of the occupation of a farmer, and laid the foundation of excellent physical health, which has been of much beneficial advantage to him in his subsequent life.

On arriving at the age of twelve years, after having enjoyed the benefits of the Common School, his father took him to the neighboring town of Walpole, and placed him in the Academy, under the charge and preceptorship of Reverend Justus Janes and Lady, where he remained

some five months, pursuing those elementary and academical branches of study, suited to a boy of his age. After making very good proficiency in his studies, together with learning the elements of letter correspondence, he returned home, and again attended the Common School when in progress at its accustomed winter season.

His father not being desirous of his attaining a regular collegiate education, so called, and his own conception of an essential education being embraced in the Academy; he resumed his course in the Academy at Keene, for a sufficient time, which with corresponding instruction of this description, mathematical and classical, directly from his father, at home, served to lay the foundation of his education, academical, for the active as well as the professional pursuits in life. Meanwhile he was accustomed to attend the Sabbath School of the village, near which his boyhood was spent, and became an attendant upon religious worship at the Unitarian Church, under the ministration of its pastor, Rev. Abiel A. Livermore, a scholarly and conscientious clergyman of ready professional talent, and of useful service in his sphere of life. Passing from this immediate attendance at church, he also attended, through family association, the Congregational Church, Rev. Zedekiah S. Barstow officiating as its clergyman, who was distinguished for zeal and assiduity in his calling. Both clergymen became honored with the professional distinction of that of Doctor of Divinity, as a reward for their fidelity and ability in the profession of the ministry of the Christian Church. His own Christian profes-

sion partook of the nature of that of the Congregational Chnrch.

In 1845, after having nearly attained his manhood, being twenty years of age, without previously having obtained an acquaintance with the world abroad, Mr. Perry conceived the idea of seeking his fortune elsewhere than in the confined locality of his boyhood.

With this purpose in view, he started for New York, the place of his birth, to obtain a mercantile situation there, under such auspices, with a limited personal acquaintance, as that crowded and opulent city might afford. He visited the different places of business engaged in foreign and domestic commerce, and after having walked, repeatedly, through its business streets, in pursuit of a business situation of this kind, he found employ as a clerk with a wholesale merchant on West street, fronting Hudson river, engaged chiefly in the grocery business with the up river country, and the West.

He continued with this merchant a few months, realizing something of the character and fortunes of a merchant in one of the greatest marts of trade, when an uncle, purposing to go West, to look after some property interests, invited him to accompany him, recommending the advantages of a new country, just expanding into the proportion of a successful and growing community, as being better for a young man, than those of an old and developed country.

Having doubts relative to the opportunities of succeeding to his mind in so large a business sphere, without the

ready advantage of business capital and friends, he finally accepted, without regret, his uncle's invitation, and went with him to the state of Illinois, then a prosperous and rapidly developing state in the great West.

Wishing to see as much of the western country as the travel would afford, he was enabled to go to his destination by way of the northern lakes. This route afforded him an opportunity of seeing the principal cities of the north-west at that time, besides furnishing a very good idea of the topography, productions, and commerce of this region. Emigration was then fast accumulating toward the West. Public improvements, additional modes of transportation, and the combining of country, were absorbing topics of discussion with professional and business men.

Before reaching Chicago, while at Milwaukee, situate on the western shore of Lake Michigan, he met with Asa Whitney, who was then agitating the question of the construction of a Pacific Railroad across the country to the waters of the Pacific ocean. He was then engaged in an exploring expedition, with a corps of men, embracing some scientific persons, for the purpose of discovering an available route for a railroad to the Pacific coast. However much this project was then derided, and treated as too vast an undertaking; its construction has since been accomplished, midway across our country, reflecting credit upon its early friends, and also upon those who completed the enterprise.

Proceeding on his way, he reached the place of his

destination, Pittsfield, the county seat of Pike county, in central Illinois, limited in capital and in friends, but of good heart and inclinations. Here he tarried for some months, engaged in sundry employments about town, and was also employed in the clerk's office of the county commissioner's court for awhile. In the autumn of this year, a popular outbreak occurred in Hancock county, Illinois, between the Mormons and other citizens of that connty, occasioning the call for a military force to quell the disturbance. An appeal was made to the young men and other citizens in this community to aid in restoring order, and in maintaining the peace in this distracted county. Mr. Perry answered this appeal by enlisting as a private in a military force, which with an additional force became stationed at Carthage, in this county. Success attended this effort to maintain order between the contending parties, until the removal in the spring of the Mormon population to the Salt Lake city country, to the west of the Mississippi river. This service occasioned several reconnoitering expeditions over the county; the first one was instrumental in affording a view of the waters of the Mississippi river, producing, as may well be supposed, a feeling of elevation and pride, at beholding for the first time, the mingled current of the Father of waters.

Returning to Pittsfield in the spring, after disposing of his horse and accompanying equipage, he removed to the western part of Pike county, and engaged for a while in teaching in the Common School of that region, until he associated himself in business with a country merchant,

with whom he continued while then remaining in the West, engaged in the general trade of that western country.

In the meantime Mr. Perry, who early discovered a partiality for public affairs, did not lose his interest of this kind in the public questions pervading the public mind, and he soon became acquainted with the state of society, with the politics, and the progress of affairs existing in this western community. He soon came to know its leading public men, included in the state.

Stephen A. Donglas, who had been a circuit judge, was the first representative in congress from the West with whom he became acquainted. He had acquired acknowledged distinction as a representative of western interests and also as the defender of the conduct of General Jackson, in declaring martial law, while defending and saving New Orleans from the attacks of a foreign foe, occasioning the refunding of an onerous fine imposed on him as a consequence of his military proceeding. Mr. Perry cast his first vote, at a state election, for Mr. Douglas, for congress, to which he was elected.

Stephen A. Douglas, John J. Hardin, and Edward D. Baker, were then the acknowledged leading public men in the state. Abraham Lincoln, subsequently President of the United States, was then unknown to fame.

The war with Mexico occurred at this time. Mr. Perry again enlisted in an Illinois military company, to serve at this juncture in support of the United States, against the forces of Mexico. The brilliant achievements of Gen-

eral Zachary Taylor, on the Texas frontier, had kindled an enthusiasm on behalf of the country which was moved in great numbers to respond to the call made to it to take the field against the Mexican forces. The state quota, in order, being more than supplied, Mr. Perry failed of his service at this time in the tented field; though his sympathies were fully inclined toward those engaged in the defense of that part of our national domain.

In the spring of 1847, Mr. Perry was induced to return to his former home in New-Hampshire, through the interposition of his father, to aid him by taking charge of the paternal farm. In returning to the East, he traveled by way of St. Louis, and the Ohio river, by the central route, having an opportunity to see the country in the valley of the Ohio river, reflecting the nature and character of the country, included in the middle states. The relative importance of this teeming region, its imposing cities, including Louisville, Cincinnati, and Pittsburg, can scarcely be over estimated.

Mr. Perry now pursued, substantially, the business of farming, according to the method practised among New-Hampshire farmers, giving attention, mostly, to stock growing, with its incidental crops derived by tilling the lands, through this fructifying source.

In the winter of 1851, when Millard Fillmore was President, he visited Washington, the capital of the United States, having a strong desire to see, in person, the scenes and occurring events of interest, to any citizen of the country, transpiring at this widely extended theatre

of political concerns, devolved through a national sphere, upon the general government of the country, included within its territorial limits.

Arriving at Washington on the 17th of January, he was fortunately enabled to be present at a meeting of the American Colonization Society, and heard from its President, Henry Clay, an address touching upon topics and kindred matters relating to the objects and requirements of this society, which was intended to ameliorate the condition of the African people of the South, and restore them to the shores of Liberia in their native Africa, as they might attain their freedom, and be at liberty to regain their native land, under the auspices of American free institutions, inculcated and fostered through this medium, among this less favored people in Africa. Mr. Clay had in a high degree, the rare gift of eloquence, and in his address brought forth the plaudits of his auditors, and called forth the corresponding sentiments of the speakers present in agreement with this course, in promoting its object.

With the dawn of another day, Mr. Perry visited the capitol; on reaching the grounds enclosing this capitol edifice, he was readily affected by the glow, thus present, of American pride and veneration, for these living and accompanying evidences of its real and potential character. Both houses of congress, the Senate and House, were in session, and he repaired at once to the Senate chamber, for the purpose of first witnessing proceedings enacted by congress, in its co-ordinate capacity. The congress of

the United States is essentially, and it may be said virtually, composed of its representative men. William H. Seward, of New York, a fit type of the representative man, and of the character of the Senate, as observed in this highest sphere of congressional office, was then occupying the floor, speaking from manuscript, as well as in detail, on behalf of claims for the spoliation of commercial property, resting between the United States and France.

Both bodies of congress occupied the vantage ground, in point of national character; and it was at this time that Mr. Perry gained his insight of the sphere, as well as of the active powers of the national form of the government of the United States.

In 1853 he was appointed a clerk under the general government, where he remained during the administration of Franklin Pierce. His health then becoming impaired, he resigned office and returned to New-Hampshire.

During this period, and following it, he was a correspondent and writer for the newspaper press to some extent. This, with the preparation of some addresses, and legal writing, are the chief occasions of an appearance before the public in this representative capacity.

Meanwhile, in 1856, James Buchanan was a candidate for President of the United States. John C, Fremont was his chief competitor. Mr. Perry espoused the candidacy of Mr. Buchanan, whom he considered, in point of election, as being the most favorable to the stability and repose of the country, under the exciting circumstances then existing relating to the question of slavery in the South.

Mr. Buchanan was elected, through a small majority. His election served to retain the political relations of the country together, but did not afford an entire solution of the slavery question then unusually disturbing the hitherto peaceful and abiding conduct of the United States.

At this intervening time, wishing to embrace a professional education, he also read law, making himself acquainted with the principles of the common law, both English and American, as inculcated by Blackstone and Kent. Notwithstanding dry detail, he derived much pleasure and satisfaction when poring over the learning and acumen to be found in the works of these authors. Through these sources he became familiar with the enduring principles of international and constitutional law.

For some years Mr. Perry had now lived in New-Hampshire, interested in the passing events of this period, fraught with so much of public concern and disruption.

Again, in 1860, John C. Breckenridge, Stephen A. Douglas, John Bell, and Abraham Lincoln were candidates, respectively, for President of the United States, in a quadrangular contest. The three first candidates received mainly a general support from the country. Mr. Lincoln was peculiarly supported, in a political sense, by the North; Mr. Lincoln was elected by a decisive majority of the electoral votes cast at this election.

From this political event, for the first time in our national history, the Union, with its component territory, was threatened with avowed disruption, and became confronted with the Confederate States of the South.

War ensued, and in 1862, while the war between the Northern and Southern States, engaged in this all-pervading conflict of arms, was being prosecuted, he again visited and lived in the West, making his first adopted state there, Illinois, his home at this time. This remarkable war of the Rebellion, and its all-engrossing duties, gave rise to considerations which were paramount in their character, and which ruled the public events in all the section of country now visited by him, located within this corresponding region in a physical sense. The war with its ultimate solutions, was destined to go on, in its course, for four years, until its final and inevitable conclusion.

In the meantime, Mr. Perry returned to New-Hampshire in the early season of 1865, made necessary by the death of his father, to succeed him in the management of business concerns following this event.

The war now soon closed, African slavery, its concomitant, came to be annulled, and the returning elements of peace and concord shed again their refulgent and healthful energies throughout our land, affording additional evidence relative to these United States, in following the course of their onward and progressive state, as being a stable and an enduring monument of the political wisdom of those who established their foundation, upon the enduring basis of free and popular government.

Mr. Perry possesses the qualities of a ready writer, together with those qualities which unite to form the requirements essential with the speaker and orator.

FIRST
DISSERTATION ON GOVERNMENT,
WITH ITS
POPULAR ADVANCEMENT.

The utility and beneficence of government attracted the attention and commanded the study of the most thoughtful and wisely favored men of the earliest ages recorded in the book of time. The brightest and most enduring laurels have been won by philosophers devoted to the science and improvement of government, resting for its support on the eternal pillars of order and public law, embodying the essential principles of justice.

Without precedents, and the principles of public justice reduced to intelligible and express forms having the sanction of conventional approbation, the first communities of people were dependent upon their resources of mind and experience aided by the active forecast of that universal Providence in human affairs with which they have been inseparably connected since the creation of man. The human family, commencing with unity and multiplying with mathematical regularity under its changing conditions of life, were originally unobliged to depart

from the domestic usages and government first manifested in the family, over which stood a head of many generations during the patriarchal age, anterior to the reduction established in the duration of human life which followed the deluge many centuries after the creation.

The progress made in the world in improving the institutions of society, in bringing government nearer to the will of he mass of individuals on which civil organizations rest more or less remotely, has been gradual and subject to the vital conditions on which its successful continuance has depended, under the different phases by which its passing course has been illustrated, adapting itself to the increasing intelligence which has lighted its way during the long period past of the working and mastery over the rude elements provided to engross the mental and physical activities of communities, and to enable them to gain a living support in all their different relations, from the cradle, throngh the period allotted to maturity and material efficiency, to the age when life itself passes as the shadow of its once real and bodily presence.

The history of the civilized world demonstrates with a certainty beyond all cavil and disputatious efforts, the indispensable necessity of having and preserving organized relations in the interior structure of society, to regulate and promote its political and social welfare ; also, the importance of establishing the rules of its civil and associated relations on foundations sufficient to restrain individual commissions of wrong against the rights of fellow members in communities, and also that they may stand the

shock of temporary alienation from the sources of, and the security for, the public good. Whenever the public barriers to the caprice and criminal intentions of persons, or powers, proceeding from internal or external quarters, have been overstepped with impunity, free from the just condemnation of its constituted tribunals, anarchy, bloodshed, devastation, desolation, and the prostration of communities, states and countries have followed, proportioned to their departure from the obvious principles of justice.

The practical success of the world in maintaining government in some form has been tested under circumstances the most trying to the governed, and to those in possession of powers of administration; and it is due to both descriptions of persons in civilized countries, to their profound regard for private and public rights, to say, that each have appealed in their dire extremities, with differing claims, to the final arbiter of nations for the rectitude of their conduct and the goodness of their intentions: while time has not failed to award to each, respectively, the tribute due to their zeal and acts, after the passion and conflict of the occasion has subsided, giving a better reflection of motives and purposes as judged by their conduct. The history of revolutions shows that they return with increased force on their originators and promoters when carried beyond the line of the true grievances which gave them birth.

Notwithstanding the differences of opinion that prevail throughout the world with respect to the best forms of government to secure the most happiness and general

welfare, that government is best which practically promotes these ends, independent of all theories. The best government in theory, and this has relation, according to the practical lessons of the world, to the popular form, may be perverted from its true object by ambitious men and their associations in the exercise of delegated trusts, to fortify and perpetuate themselves in power; or it may be paralyzed and destroyed in the strife and conflict of parties struggling for supremacy, in their mutual rivalries and criminations, breaking into factions in the blind and reckless work of accomplishing their own destruction, in case of failure to wrest from each other the power of state.

Political history testifies to the weakness and imperfection of all governments which have had an existence since the flow of time; not owing so much to their particular form as to the manner of their administration, the fruitful cause of revolutions and the re-establishment of empires on new guaranties of public faith.

History assigns a wide space to the record of events bearing upon the political state of nations which have risen and passed before the ordeal of inquiry and public expression. The first generations of men, the descendants of Adam, of the whole earth, according to scriptural history, comprised one people and spoke one language, until the confounding of their language and their dispersion from the city of Babel. They formed families, and were diffused throughout the land in this mode; they built cities, established nations, cultivated the soil, tended their

flocks and herds, in obedience to the early Divine command to "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." Passing from the garden of Eden in the first instance, where they were surrounded by the things of creation, and where grew every tree "pleasant to the sight, and good for food," as a consequence of the violation, under the temptation which insidiously presented itself, of the injunction not to eat "of the tree of knowledge of good and evil;" our first parents thus opened their eyes in consciousness of knowledge and life, with the penalty for their disobedience, in their earthly dissolution resting upon them. They were driven from the delightful spot selected and prepared for them, separating them from the "tree of life," lest they might eat and live forever; requiring them to till the ground, from which man was called into life, and to eat their bread "in the sweat" of their face, until their return to the dust, the foundation substance of their bodily natures. After the flood, which followed in the progress of events of the creation, and the destruction of all animate nature, excepting that in pairs of its kind that was preserved in life, with Noah, who had found grace in the sight of the Creator, and his family, in the ark that was fashioned to ride the swollen waters of the earth in safety; the original injunction was repeated to Noah and his sons, to "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." In this is seen the essential justification of the Deity with himself, to man,

the only earthly representative of his own nature, and the only responsible agent in advancing his purposes on earth, in vindicating the justness of his wonderful creation, in manifesting the eternal attributes of goodness and justice which moved His will in the acts of creation; and in holding up to preserved mankind on earth, the law of their continued existence, after the fall from the perfect way of life in the garden. The last act evincing Divine displeasure for transgression in his sight, is the great lesson to man of his dependence on his Creator, and his inevitable mortality on earth.

The differing and different nations of antiquity grew out of the system of colonizing the region of country in which the family of man first appeared, from causes originating in the spirit of disaffection and a desire of separation and change in locality within the area of their conception of the created world; such apprehension of its geographical extent as was obvions to them without the lights of far reaching discovery, and the abstruse teachings of scientific inquiry. Colonization was effected, also, under the particular direction of the Supreme Being, as was illustrated in the person of Abraham and his family, in appearing to him and telling him to go out of his country and from his kindred to a land that would be shown him, in Canaan, where he was told that they would become a great nation; obeying the direction he departed, and was instrumental in founding a mighty nation, of which he became king, answering the promise of the Divine ruler that his name should be great.

The earliest accounts of government that we have, were of a theocratic-monarchial form, under kings who ruled in some cases with an almost unlimited will, and with great oppression. This form of government resolving itself into regularly established forms of monarchy, prevailed for three thousand years before the new dispensation of the Christian era. Men wise in counsel and skillful in war appeared in that far distant age, and as a reward for their pre-eminent merits, were selected as kings, captains, and law-givers among the nations. The lineal race of kings passed several generations, and the empire of their sway was powerful and triumphant among many of the leading powers at that time contending for supremacy. Alliances and treaties were made, and the forms of civil rule adopted were maintained with a good degree of success for the rude state then existing in the unreclaimed world,

Wars growing out of violated treaties, the infliction of wrongs, and arising from the invasions prosecuted on contemporaneous nations, were of a character the most sanguinary of any recorded in history. The loss of life, and the destructive effects attendant upon the hostile collisions of ancient nations, were much greater than is mentioned in modern history. The engines of war were more terrific when set in motion, and the carnage more frightfully sad than has characterized the contests of a more perfect civilization. They drew up their armies in close combat, consisting of horses and chariots, with the bow, the sword, and the spear, as weapons, and their engage-

ments were relentless in the extreme. One of the decided evidences of the progress made in modern times is the great improvement made in the art of warfare. This has been superinduced greatly by the invention of gunpowder, and its skillful application in various ways by which life is spared, and equally decisive results are obtained in determining the issues between contending armies. The great battles of the world may be said to have been fought and won before the Christian era, including those celebrated engagements of Marathon, Platea, Issus and Philippi, when the mightiest issues of empire were staked on the point of victory.

In the sphere of politics and law the first great leader of the Jews stood for centuries at the head of the advancing columns in civilization and Christianization. He was prominent in a two fold character, that of a master in civil and religious polity. His system of law and religion was the prevalent one, until the new moral and religious era dawned upon the obscured understanding of the world, personated by the Savior of mankind; sent into the world to perform its great work of redemption through the grace of the Divine intelligence presiding over the fate of the universe.

We are principally indebted to the Biblical narrative of events which is mostly comprehended in the miraculous history of the "chosen people," the Jews or Israelites, who continued to be the great and leading nation in the time of sacred history proper, until a late period, when historical accounts were perpetuated in epic poetry intermingled

with obscure and superstitious transactions partaking of the nature of fables, for our knowledge of the civil life of different nations. The Iliad and Odyssey by Homer, in which the siege and capture of ancient Troy, nearly twelve hundred years before the Christian era, by the Greeks, and their return from the East, is celebrated in poetry, are considered master pieces of their kind. The remaining ruins of a once reputed city remain to attest its truth as historically related. An acquaintance with the character and customs of the nations of antiquity is gained in part by the ingeniously constructed monuments of early times, with representations of facts sculptured on their walls, combined with oral traditions. Notwithstanding, the record of civil history, the account of distinct nations is imperfect and much of it is left to conjecture, until about five hundred years before the close of the old era.

The oriental empires bordering on the Mediterranean that flourished and governed the world during this age, under the lead of that of the Assyrian or Babylonish, are now far in the background of progress in the arts of life. The letters, art, and commerce of the world had their origin from these points. After having had a wonderful development in the region of this Eastern land, where cities, and wealth, and imperial greatness, advanced for centuries, they seemed to attain their culmination, and to seek greater perfection in new fields of enterprise and activity, following the "star of empire" westward.

After an experience of some time in administration by judges who executed their ministerial offices at the gates

of cities, and by archons or governors, in the absence of kings in authority, the first steps effectually taken in advance in the introduction of the popular principle in government was by the election of assemblies and senates who occupied an intermediate position of authority between the king and the people. The city of Athens, famed for its early distinction in the cultivation of the arts and sciences, was the scene of the first attempts in instituting democratic forms of government. Assemblies composed of all the freemen of Athens, held meetings and transacted business relating to their political concerns. The leading republics of the Mediterranean country, Athens, Carthage, and Rome, filled a great space in the eyes of history nearly two thousand years ago. Their heads, or kings as they were styled, were elective, and had no administrative power of importance without the concurrence of the senate and the people. It was their fate, however, to suffer modifications from time to time in the exercise of the functions of government, alternating between regal, consular, and that of military dictatorship, as the turn of revolution favored.

The principle of liberty and law embodied in government by the independent action of the entire mass of freemen, in the institution and preservation of civil rule, constituted of itself a revolution in public affairs, in breaking away from the immemorial rule of the few as represented in the ecclesiastic courts, and in family dynasties successively filling the seats of power. As is the case with all revolutions, danger lurked on the confines of this enlarged

exercise of the rights of private and public conduct, under a system of self-regulation, depending for its permanency and safety, with regard to the rights of all, upon volition and the restraints of self-discipline, to be met in case of willful non-compliance and criminality by such physical force as might be provided through their deliberate and wise counsels.

The people of these parent republics were not possessed of the lights derived from previous examples of republican institutions in their operation, under circumstances of change proceeding from the foibles and caprice of individual citizens, or from the misdemeanors of persons invested, temporarily, with authority, aggregating through the influences of the power of state to pervert it to individual ends. They were without that balance wheel in the public mind gained by preconceived ideas of the connection between individual liberty and public responsibility in regard to the institutions which all experience asserts to be necessary for the preservation of the natural and essential relations of society.

These republics were constantly beset with the danger of new revolutions in some form, and which appeared in the character of factions, as opportunily furnished pretext for them, the worst foes of all governments, when bent on a course of unqualified rule or destruction. Their course, too, was attended with strong opposing influences proceeding from monarchial and despotic influences, set in motion by privileged classes and by military enthusiasts seized with the passion of dominion. In times of danger

from foreign foes, confederations or unions of the lesser states were formed, by which they bound themselves in oaths of fidelity to defend each other from external invasion, and to favor their respective general welfare. The Amphictyonic council of the Greeks, and the Achæan league, are instances of this international association to insure this security against the encroachments of rival powers. The history of these republics involves a succession of internal dissensions and foreign wars arising out of mutual jealousies and the desire for the extension of empire.

Questions of public policy in states turned often on the interests of rival factions, and respecting the measures of promoting the individual power of states, and, also, in attaining supremacy of rule among contemporary nations.

The factions and conspiracies which rose to obstruct the pathway of the popular progress and perpetuity of the two great republics of the ancient world, and as a consequence of their success, laid the foundation of their subversion and ruin, were of such an unjust and violent character as to convey the impression that the public virtue and general intelligence of that age was insufficient for the purposes of a pure democratic government, though the closing scenes of their existence were embellished with learning and eloquence which have become classic with modern scholars, and with examples of extraordinary virtue and personal sacrifice for the public good in times of peril. The military genius of that age has hardly been surpassed, considering the modes then understood for conducting war. Lycurgus, Aristides, Socrates, Cincin-

natus, Demosthenes, Cicero, Alexander, and Cæsar, were shining examples of great endowments and great performances in their different spheres.

The highest flights of eloquence, and the noblest virtue and patriotism were displayed by citizens of these republics devoted to their liberties, and to their permanency, too often borne down for the hope of success by foreign aggression and the profligacy and fury of internal forces. Demosthenes, with some of his associates, yielded his life to save the freedom of the Athenian republic, after exerting an eloquence and vigilence for years in behalf of his country rarely to be found among popular champions. Cicero, the Roman orator and tribune of the people, saved his country, more than all others, from the villainous conspiracy of Catiline and his infamous colleagues—Catiline, the father of conspirators, who sought a revenge of his country for disappointed ambition in being defeated for the consulate. He signalized his remarkable power of oratory in the senate by fixing the charge of base conspiracy on the brow of the ambitious but misguided Catiline, who sank in infamy to rise no more. Cincinnatus was twice called from the plow to save the Roman republic from the violence of its enemies. The intrigues, conspiracies, and tragic scenes connected with Roman dissensions in the senate, and in the assemblies of the populace, resulting in the death of some of her most deserving citizens, evince the violence of public disorder let loose in those times of popular trials and political excesses. The assassination of Cæsar in the Roman senate, who was sus-

pected of entertaining hostilities toward the Commonwealth, and who was judged to be desirous of attaining supreme power by his distinguished rivals, bespeak the violent extremities resorted to in shaping Roman destinies by those occupying places of influence and power.

In the interior structure of political society, and in the practice of jurisprudence, the republics of Greece preceded those of the Roman, as they did also in age. Lycurgus seems to have been the first codifier of distinction among the Greeks in the construction of their civil polity. His scheme was founded on a mixed government, dividing authority between the king and the senate; conferring on the king the war power, which has been delegated to the representative branch among modern governments; it was free from all interference with the religious systems then prevalent, a virtue in civil polity which has been initiated in our own country. Solon, the legislator and one of the seven wise men of Greece, was intrusted with the duty of forming a code of laws for the Athenians. His plan succeeded the penal code of Draco, and embraced the most popular theories of civil rule then entertained by political publicists. He vested the sovereign power in assemblies of the people; he instituted a senate to act as a council of state; divided the inhabitants into classes, the highest rank being that of citizens or freemen, who had the government in their hands; the lowest rank in the eye of the state was that of persons held in a state of servitude; he re-instituted the Areopagus court of judicature at Athens. The laws of Solon were so popular that

they formed the basis of much subsequent legislation in Athens and among the Roman republics.

During the existence of the Commonwealth of Rome, in the fifth century before the Christian era, ten of her most illustrious senators were commissioned to frame a code of laws suited to her national proclivities. These were engrossed on tablets of wood and called the laws of the twelve tables; they seemed to command universal respect as being superior and more perfect than the Athenian system devised by Solon; they comprehended principles of common law, and the most approved statutes enacted by Roman legislative wisdom.

In the sixth century, during the reign of Justinian over the Eastern Roman empire, before the decline of learning, civilization, and empire, in the south of Europe, in consequence of the ravages and hostile invasions of the barbarians of Northern Europe, a series of legal compilations, bearing the name of the Justinian code, containing an epitome of Roman legislation and published disquisitions on the law, were brought together, which have been the foundation, to a great extent, of the jurisprudence that has conducted the states of western Europe to an eminence in all the characteristics that mark a high civilization, that throws a shade over the brightest pages devoted to the history of imperial dominion and progress in the East.

The experience of popularizing the institutions of civil government as originally illustrated in the two republican Confederations of Greece and Rome, presents sad lessons

of the changeableness, instability, and uncertainty of human affairs in the process of revolutionary innovation in any form, in the pursuit of popular or despotic ends, subject in its course to the excited passions, opposing interests of perpetual strife, and to the danger, also, to be apprehended from the treachery and usurpation of leaders, raised from the plastic elements of revolutionary change, by influences ever present which address themselves with great force to their ambitious tendencies, inclined in the direction of self aggrandisement, stimulated, too, by the viands of partial success and by the extravagant flattery of interested parasites watchful of the turning advantages to be derived in the vicissitudes of affairs.

We see in this experience the relative advantages of pacific and war counsels in states, and also between states, in emergencies of uncommon rivalry, when their mutual transactions are essentially governed by the spirit of promoting their individual welfare in the race of nationality, as manifested by those leading republics of Greece, Athens and Sparta; the genius of the one being more especially confined to the cultivation of the arts of peace, and the other was celebrated for its military distinction. Athens, the focus of Grecian literature, science, art, manners, and the refinements of civilized life; and, indeed, the source from whence instruction in letters and discovery went forth to enlighten and advance all civilizing communities and nations contemporary with her, deficient in the germs of that dominion peculiar to the province of mind, had her democratic government subverted by the

superior military prowess of her rapacious rival; and was reduced to the humiliating condition of being governed by a tyrannous oligarchy called the rule of a body of tyrants, until the violated rights of her sacrificed citizens concentrated a force that threw off the chains of oppression, and deposed the officers of an abused power by restoring the popular administration.

The closing scenes during the alternating fortunes of Grecian democracy and independence, culminated in their subversion by the aid of that commanding force in a state, the army, exerted to suppress each others' progress, at last united with foreign cohorts in the career of conquest. Thus fell the states of Greece from the high political rank which they had attained to the condition of a mere Roman province, victims of their own dissensions, mutual jealousies, public corruptions, inter-state wars—their liberties absorbed and vested in a foreign power by means of Roman arms, solicited in the first place to assist in prosecuting their domestic wars, turned successfully against Grecian Independence itself, after an existence of not more than five hundred years in which democratic or popular principles prevailed in government; one hundred and forty-six years before the Christian era.

The history of Rome is the history of conquest and its attendant dangers. The republic, supposed to have been founded by a band of shepherds, gradually enlarged in her territorial extent, finally embraced almost universal empire by the force of her arms, in which she excelled all other independent nations of antiquity; and the title of a

Roman citizen was the most honored in the world. She was the glory and the fear of her age among her contemporaries. Her military successes furnished the seeds of her ultimate overthrow—the destruction of her democratic systems, and the return to the iron domination of monarchial and military institutions. Her military triumvirates, of which the first was composed of that celebrated trio, Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, for the division of the spoils of conquest among them, extending from Asia Minor to the Atlantic ocean, and including Africa and Spain, were the primary causes of the disruption of the old republican Commonwealth. The public demoralization and the inglorious proceedings which marked the character of her measures of public policy in her latest headlong career, were the bitter fruits of the interminable rivalries and mutual hostilities of her great generals in the possession of usurped power. The inflexibleness of discordant political counsels paved the way for the prostration of the single rule by the people, and the introduction of its substitute, the right arm of physical power—the military—as the latent source of the vitality of the Roman government.

Ancient Rome fell from her enviable position in the early development of the popular will for the exercise of the highest attributes of sovereignty, after nearly the same experience in years of the Grecian republics. Both republican Confederations expired before the new era. The Mediterranean states, relapsing into the Western and Eastern empires, reached the acme of their greatness and fame in the fifth century, when events took a new turn

and the glories and triumphs of the preceding thousand years were hidden in the obscurity of the dark age which encompassed the entire world for several hundred years, and which did not wholly disappear until the fifteenth century.

The ravages of the Goths, Vandals, and other nomadic tribes long shut up in the wide and uncivilized regions of the North country of Europe, combined with that terrible scourge to mankind, unreconcilable and unmitigated war, to lay waste the civilization and national growth of many decades of years. The wrecking tendencies of political empire, dating from the annihilation of the states of Carthage and Greece, seemed to presage the coming of events of evil, decline, and political dissolution. The spirit of invasion, devastation, and the exaction of tribute from subordinate or reduced nations, confined in its inception to civilized nations, soon by the movement of the barbarous hordes swept all Europe.

It is a source of lamentable thought, in contemplating the evident effects to persons and things, arising from this revolution of decline and decay. It paralyzed industry, broke up the avenues of commerce, decreased aggregated population, and ruined great commercial centres; the blight thus inflicted has never been superceded by the former flourishing condition of those ancient powers. Fresh fields of industry and new pathways for commerce were found in Western Europe and in the Indies, which withdrew the discouraged enterprise of the East from the scenes of its reverses.

For six centuries the canopy of gloom and disaster rested over the world, which was held captive by the moving multitudes of adventurers, pilferers and destroyers of established systems, embracing social, political, and industrial affairs. This chapter in the long course of events, presents a sad commentary on the best types of humanity when brought into inferior contact with the baser ingredients of which it is composed, unable to maintain its due ascendency in the propagation of its theories, and in the successful execution of its manifold measures of effort in rendering tributary the several forces of nature to the wants of man. Disintegration and the scattering of races, combined with the despoiling of nations by a course of aggression and the multiplication of the spoils of predatory encroachments, characterized, to an extraordinary extent, the active operations of these centuries. The experience and events of this middle period carry with them evidence that states previously far advanced were touched with the hand of degeneracy. It was the dividing line over which crossed the achievements of a preceding age to be overmatched by another and a different race, acting through the momentum of improved circumstances.

The three leading institutions of that period, derived from the nature of the origin and growth of the state of things then existing, were Fudalism, Chivalry, and the Crusades.

The first of these was the natural result of conquest, and the perpetuation of its advantages in the distribution of the territory acquired, the second element of a state.

It was of Roman origin and consisted in the division of the lands obtained by the conquering tribes among their heads, as Roman dissensions and weakness yielded to the power of their invaders, secured by the consideration of fidelity and military service. It gave rise to a class of permanently vested rights with social distinctions bearing certain titles, considering this class essentially a part of the state. This was the foundation of government on property, which has since been copied in the organization and construction of political institutions under more perfect representative forms, by attaching civil qualifications to freeholds.

Chivalry, as an art in the social system, was a part of the top growth of the institution of Feudalism. As a school of study and discipline among the corporated members of society, it improved the manners, cultivated the better impulses of the heart, promoted sentiments of gallantry and courage, and was intended to improve the estimate placed on a fine sense of honor; it increased social ceremonials, and, like other Roman institutions, was attended with abuses and vices. It was of no distinct benefit to the public welfare, and in the obliteration of the Feudal system of which it was an adjunct, it passed out of recognized existence.

The third leading institution—the Crusades, or wars undertaken in the name of religion for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre out of the hands of the profane possessors of Jerusalem, the Saracens and Tartars—was prosecuted by besieging forces in immense numbers. The

superstition, love of adventure, and passion for plunder, uniting in these expeditions, rendered them the terror of those places where they concentrated.

These were the three active and generally pervading systems which gave direction to other affairs; they extended throughout Europe. The latter was instrumental in reflecting across the wild and uncultivated regions of Central Europe the plants of the learning and the maturer but depressed institutions of the East, to be grown and ripened when the sun of advancing civilization should again shine upon the face of the societies of men in new situations and with new responsibilities. During this halt in popular progress, sporadic cases, in the latter part of this age, were of increasing occurrence where popular forms of civil administration prevailed. They were localized and confined to narrow limits, resulting from circumstances of location and pursuit. They were the lights of a greater constellation, preserved through a period of darkness and bondage to the human soul, to serve as torches for a brighter popular illumination than had ever before been witnessed by the world.

The cities of Venice and Genoa which led the crippled commerce of the Mediterranean at this time, were possessed of republican institutions, since remodeled under a more extended government of a different form. The famous league of the Hanse Towns, in Germany, in the thirteenth century—the union of free cities for their common protection, and for the promotion of commercial objects, were instances of free government preserved through

this era. The Swiss republic, the present leading representative of the republican system, in principle, in Continental Europe, was founded as early as the fourteenth century, by the creation of its cantons.

Following the course of events through the lapsing period to the commencement of modern history in the fifteenth century, a comprehensive and perpetual adaptation of representative principles in civil affairs was illustrated in the political history of the British government, though under national forms of monarchy, which underwent the process of being lessened in its absoluteness corresponding with the general intelligence and continued vitality of its national obligation. The British people were composed of stock proceeding from all parts of Europe; first settled by the Romans, then peopled by various nations from the north of Europe—the German Anglo-Saxons finally predominating in giving the key-note to her political system. The accession of these diversified classes of people was introductory to the infusing of new vigor to the British body politic. The noble superstructure of representative government on the basis of the regal authority originally established in British Europe, including France, which formally was partly contained within this realm, controlled the tendency of the political mind in its sympathies and workings. Representative government formed the groundwork of English liberty, the preservation of which devolves on its possessors obligations of duty, as Sir William Blackstone no more succinctly than happily expresses it, "which they owe to

themselves who enjoy it; to their ancestors, who transmitted it down; and to their posterity, who will claim at their hands, this, the best birthright, and noblest inheritance of mankind."

The obtainment of Magna Charta, declaratory of the immemorial usages and rights of the British people, in the thirteenth century, from the Crown by the Barons, with "sword in hand," was a great triumph of the popular interest. Trial by a jury of peers, the right of petition, and the *habeas corpus* act, subsequently following as rights by the British Constitution as inalienable, constituted the three great fundamental principles underlying the sanctuary of public justice.

The advance of free representative institutions and the perpetuity of the rights of the Crown, were attended with repeated revolutions and modifications in administration. This was particularly manifest in the seventeenth century. Foreign wars, with the limited resources of the nation, furnished occasion for the adoption of extraordinary measures in replenishing the exchequer, involving the rights of the Crown and those of parliament. Taxes were levied on merchandise, and supplies for the naval service called ship money were exacted without authority of parliament. These extra ministerial acts produced prodigious opposition among the commons. John Hampden rendered his name illustrious in his opposition to this stretch of authority and encroachment on the sovereignty of the nation. It was carried before the highest judicial tribunals in the interest of the Crown, by which this as-

sumed authority was supported. The public resistance arising against the exercise of the power of taxation, without the consent of parliament, with the religious interference towards the non-conforming churches of protestantism, resulted in the overthrow of the British Crown, in the person of Charles the First, and in placing Cromwell on the pinnacle of power as Protector of the Commonwealth of England.

The changes of parliament, the administration of the ten years of Protectorship, with the internecine contests varying in the turns of its successes, and in the extended uses made of the prerogatives claimed by the recurring Crown, ended in the revolution of 1688.

The long struggle ensuing in parliament over the civil and religious liberties of Britain, known in history as the long parliament, of twelve years duration, in which religious sects were arrayed against each other, and opposing factions battled with uncommon zeal, was at last carried so far as to bring itself into direct conflict with the Crown, with an appeal to the last arbiter of unsettled pretentions and repeated difficulties, the sword of public use. This war of prerogatives, as observed, resulted in the defeat of the Crown, and its suspension by the trial and execution of the king on the charge of treason, during the raging fury and bitterness of the strife. Parliament itself contained an incongruous and impracticable body of men, representing different interests of state and creed. It was forcibly purged of some of its intracticable members, and ultimately dissolved through the dictation of the Crom-

well party, Cromwell himself being the prime mover of these revolutionary proceedings in parliament, and the subsequent personation of the Protectorship by parliamentary authority—a government involving a species of popular-military despotism—while the Crown tumbled from its elevated position to receive the derision of the triumphing multitude in the height of their successes.

The war of bitter and unrelenting political contention, and religious disputes between Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Puritans, was destined to go on in its course and work out results of good or evil to the Christian world within this arena of its scenes of new trial and changing determination. This upheaving of all the elements of the church in the shadow of the reformation of Martin Luther and his associates of the preceding century, was the beginning of a *finale* which gladdened the face of all Christendom. The fallibility and unworthiness of the long established ministerial church had become a recognized fact, as judged by its practices of indulgence, expediency, and its too evident religious obliquity, in the light of inspiration and reason composing the soul of the Christian reformation. A greater practical deliverance from arbitrary religious dogmas, liberty of the religious conscience, and independence of the state followed, which has been adding in its force under the recurring experience and sound reason of all succeeding time.

In the operation of public affairs during this critical and monarchial period closing with the revolution of 1668

and the regulation of the right of succession to the Crown by parliament, plots and counter-plots followed in quick succession, tempered with the asperities of political rivalries and of religious feuds which had become intermingled with the conduct of the government, changing in its sectarian bias and patronage according to the predominating power in administration, passing from the Episcopacy to Puritanism or the Independent, and again in favor of Roman Catholicism. During these spirited and aggressive contests between the Crown and parliament, the representative body of the nation, its integrity became very questionable, indeed, subject to direct charges of being influenced by exterior influences in the form of bribery and corruption.

Bribery and corruption, the twin relics of ancient governments, monarchial and republican, have descended to the latest generations to tempt the purity of civil administration. It overcome ancient republican senates, and opened the door to military usurpations and despotisms; passing from the citizen in the sale of his vote to the highest popular assemblies, which became faithless to their trust.

Mr. Macaulay very graphically says, that "the history of the rise, progress, and decline of parliamentary corruption in England still remains to be written. No subject has called forth a greater quantity of eloquent vituperation and stinging sarcasm. Three generations of serious and sportive writers wept and laughed over the venality of the senate. That venality was denounced on the hus-

tings, anathematized from the pulpit, and burlesqued on the stage; was attacked by Pope in brilliant verse, and by Bolingbroke in stately prose, by Swift with savage hatred, and by Gay with festive malice. The voices of tories and whigs, of Johnson and Akenside, of Smolett and Fielding, contributed to swell the cry. But none of those who railed or of those who jested took the trouble to verify the phenomena, or to trace them to the real causes."

This mischievious element of society and government existed before and after the revolution with its salutary reforms. It acted in both branches of government, that of the Crown and the legislative, though with far less proportion in the house of commons, which stood independent of the executive, by being an elective body—the representative of the popular will—and obliged to consult public opinion more immediately in the government of its action. Before this event the Crown, fortified by prescriptive practice, resorted in many instances successfully to criminal coercion, and to mercenary considerations to gain parliamentary support for the maintenance of its assumed absolute prerogatives. Subsidies and titled honors, and life itself were thrown into the scale to influence events in its favor in the violence of public disorder.

These doubtful and equivocal practices in executive and legislative branches are attributed, generally, in their origin, to considerations of local and temporary concern, rather than to any comprehensive scheme of improper influences to control the affairs of government. The better opinion of mankind would shrink from the charge of a

willful and unqualified adherence to a course of evil in the prosecution of its purposes. Once entered upon, strong reasons might justify its repetition for the sake of expediency when promising advantage, until the end might reel, as in this prolonged contest in Great Britain, under the excesses of a great abuse of power.

The care of the liberties of the British people is vested in parliament as in all representative governments having the rudiments of a popular basis, and should this body fail from its incompetency to act from paralyzing influences proceeding from without or within, their fate must be left to the providential course of events.

The revolution of 1668 resulted in settling as fundamental principles of the British Constitution, religious toleration, freedom of election and of parliamentary proceedings, the right of petition for redress of grievances, the inability of the Crown to suspend laws of parliament, or to levy money without the consent of the people throngh parliament, and in determining more clearly the respective rights of the people and the Crown. It was instrumental in establishing the principle that when a systematic course of usurpation and oppression is carried to such an extent as to jeopard the purposes and to transcend the just results of a government, it becomes both the right and the duty of the governed to replace it, by force if need be, with one having more just relations in its operation.

The advocacy of popular rights under the British government, was developed in an increasing ratio; a series of her statesmen have left an enduring fame which has re-

flected its living light on the political structure which they lived to embellish and improve by their patriotism and genius. The struggle of the seventeenth century in behalf of constitutional principles was destined to go forward, and take in the American revolution, which ended in the reaffirmance of the doctrines of the revolution of 1668, and the independence of the Colonies. Lord Chatham, Fox, and Burke, reiterated the noble sentiments of equality and justice advocated by John Hampden and his colleagues, which contributed to satisfy the British mind with the termination of the contest with the Colonies, and to lay the foundation of the friendly intercourse and commerce which have subsisted, with but one important variation, to this time.

The popular stage of affairs has been occupied prominently within the empire of France, contemporaneously with that of the British empire. Its vicissitudes and results have wrought on the public mind abroad the impression, if not the conviction, that habit, education, and deep-seated national characteristics, had served to unfit Frenchmen at that time for the simple relations of a pure republican system, though its adoption in several instances has been initiated, to decline with the passing of the popular fervor and enthusiasm of the occasion, within the embrace of the controlling agencies of the attributes of Imperial power, conferred on its most legitimate and favored heads among its political orders. The popular experience of this country has been successively attended with the excesses, violent strife, heart-rending scenes, and

bitter animosities of revolution with its pent up desires, deferred hopes, flattered expectations, and perverted motives and principles, stimulated by the accompanying excitements of revolution under full headway, intent on the complete reorganization of political society, and the abolition of previous forms and authorities.

French revolutions in favor of popular rights carry with them lessons of instruction and usefulness to others in pursuit of the same beneficent objects; in maintaining a due proportion between public grievances supposed and the efforts made to redress them, in the practice of forbearance, in restraining the excess of party spirit, and in not destroying the foundations of society itself. Religious as well as political independence was pursued with strategetic and forcible means, catching the spirit and the impulse of the age. The massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day attest the virulence of the religious feelings, its persecutions and enormities in these civil wars.

Under the reign of Louis the Sixteenth, near the close of the eighteenth century, commenced those series of public disturbances and sanguinary engagements which extended all over Europe; more terrific and revulsive in its effects than all kindred agitations and revolutions which have succeeded it on the Continent. The causes of this uprising of all the elements of the state were numerous and of long accumulation. The finances had drifted into a deplorable condition; society was undergoing processes of disintegration and sub-division by the introduction of new principles of philosophy; infidelity among influential

classes was prevalent; abuses in the government and the church were magnified before the popular eye; war was waged between classes for privilege and influence; principles of liberty found ardent admirers, being disseminated by Lafayette and his associates on their return from the scenes of the American revolution, which had been conducted to a noble conclusion; the instincts and activities of the populace tended toward the novelties and the advantages of more free institutions in their government.

The States General Assembly was called together for the first time in many years; it represented the nobility, clergy, and the commons; it soon proclaimed itself the National assembly of the people, from whence the revolution commenced its onward course, thence adopting the name of the Constituent assembly, by whom a Constitution was formed containing liberal provisions on the basis of a limited monarchy, favorable in its concessions to the commons. This failed in restoring public order aud in settling political difficulties. A new legislative assembly convened; then a National Convention, the father of the republic and the immolator of its predecessor, the monarchy; the difficulties with the king terminated with his execution.

The National Convention divided into factions, the advocates of moderate measures and those of a violent tendency. The extreme party succeeded under the lead of Robespierre, the chief of the Jacobins, and the most attrocious crimes were perpetrated in the names of equality and popular liberty. The guillotine was brought into a

tyrannous use among those standing opposed to the ruling influences then predominant. Robespierre himself fell a victim to its cruelties. The Christian religion was abolished, and its ceremonies set aside; churches were plundered by the mob, and reason alone was substituted as the religion and the object of worship.

New Constitutions and forms of government followed during this reign of terror, ultimating in the election of consuls, in imitation of the Roman republican system for the administration of the executive department. That remarkable man of modern distinction, Bonaparte, who had distinguished himself in his Eastern campaigns, under the government of the Directory, was elected first consul. Here commenced the active political career of this disturber of European dynasties. His will became the government of France, while his star of victorious progress was in the ascendant. Other powers, coalescing for the purpose of restoring the Crown and to defend the European system from invasion and destruction, were dazzled and confounded with the splendid realities of his success over the skill of veterans in the service, at the head of conquering forces. He infused a new energy in public affairs at home, introduced religious toleration, improvement in the laws, and was able to quell the turbulence of faction.

The revolution in France now took a new turn, and sought other fields for its triumphs and its conquests; and besides, to gratify the thirst acquired under Bonaparte for military renown, and that political passion

which was extending to become the arbiter of European destinies. A state of hostilities soon pervaded all Europe in consequence of the advances of this revolutionist. Aggressive and defensive measures were resorted to to maintain the *status* of European affairs. Coalitions, alliances, and commercial restrictions were effected by the different powers in Europe, brought into belligerent attitudes in the progress of this sweeping revolution, which threatened to reconstruct if not subvert the Continental governments.

Bonaparte himself becoming bewildered with the draughts of military good fortune running in its resistless course in the channel preceded by his troops, not content, to study and practice liberating measures for the single political regeneration of his own people, sought the avenues leading to Continental power, and perished, ultimately, under the weight of the overwhelming responsibilities which he had incurred, added to the treachery and perfidious support of lieutenants improving the visible change in the tide of events. Succeeding to the consulate for life, conspiring influence combined in order to thwart the unprecedented success of his pretensions to French sovereignty and universal sway; he procured himself to be crowned Emperor in five years from his assumption of consular powers, when he introduced his Continental system and ventured the foot of conquest and supremacy over the whole European continent, in opposition to British policy and territorial aggrandisement. His happy and fortunate genius attracted sympathizing

and powerful auxiliaries singularly devoted to his purposes, limited only, in a wonderful degree, by impossibilities and the fatality of events. Twice elevated to the chair of Imperial power, which he abdicated as many times, the last time under the hopeless reverses of Waterloo, he sank beneath that mighty current in European affairs which he contributed, mainly, to occasion, the victim of an uncontrollable ambition immoderate in its aims by nature. He deposed sovereigns, partitioned territories, and elevated citizens allied to his person and fortunes to vacant Crowns, where his arms prevailed; and they filled all Europe with alarm for the safety and permanence of their political sovereignties.

The instability of the most absolute European political power was manifested in the midst of the convulsive action of the opposing relations of this Continental struggle for political life and preponderance, at the heel of recurring results; changing front with their progress and the dictates of a wise and probable future policy. This European revolution was instrumental in liberalizing the ruling mind, after the restoration of the crowned heads; in bringing them and the people into better understood relations of right, authority, and allegiance. The great actor in it set the example of patronizing merit when found in the humblest classes; although his designs seemed to be despotic, yet he brought all classes into activity and contributed to domocratize society, by encouraging its lowest classes in works of self-advancement and in increasing their relative importance.

Republican principles had an inauspicious beginning during this convulsive era, being allied to principles, of infidelity and hostility to the established rights of property, and inimical to the final triumph of justice and equal rights; they took a wider range and assumed different ends from those first made manifest.

Under the restoration, the liberal principles which had been enjoyed for some time relaxed in favor of stringent measures directed against the press, the laws of election, and with respect to sedition to insure its safety. The popular irritation under these newly imposed restraints burst out again in the revolution of three days in 1830, resulting in the escape of the crowned head, and in the invitation to Louis Phillipe, by the deputies of France, to assume the vacant title, strengthened by satisfactions made to the popular demands. The administration of this distinguished sovereign was accompanied with disturbing causes and popular outbreaks, productive of reactionary measures from a point of defense destructive to the privileges previously granted, ending in the popular revolution of 1848, when Louis Phillipe, in imitation of predecessors, abdicated in favor of his grandson, the heir apparent, who was unrecognized in the haste of revolution, and a provisional republican government was substituted, having for its symbols, liberty and equality. The condition of personal servitude was terminated; the laws for political offenses were mitigated; various reforms were introduced. Tumult and riot, however, run wild through its excitements, instigated in Paris by the working classes

being thrown out of employment by the close of the government workshops. Through the direction of Cavaignac, at the head of the military, order was again restored, and another Republic of France was duly ushered into the family of nations, with a Bonaparte as its President.

The French republic of 1848, dictated by the imminence of affairs, social as well as political, has gravitated into the condition of a state, having an emperor as its chief executive, reaching his position firstly by means of an unusually successful use of favoring circumstances, in adapting them to a restoration of public tranquility, and the settlement of the republic on a popular basis, by his election through the skillful exercise of the forms of popular sovereignty. He completed the dissolution of the National assembly, representing an incongruous mass of ideas, socialistic and political, unable to work out their own solution, by his *coupdetat* of December 2d, 1852; repeating a corresponding act by Oliver Cromwell in dissolving the long parliament.

The popular will of France, represented in the councils of the nation, now rests in a position of better security and well-being in consequence of the sad experience of political excesses in every form, and with the increased intelligence than was formerly possible.

Since the first popular revolution in France, European political divisions have been changed and rechanged; small territories have been incorporated within larger ones, and separate nationalities have been formed suited

to the territorial aspirations of the great powers becoming parties to the reconstruction.

The Congress of Vienna, in 1815, after Napoleon's overwhelming defeat at Waterloo, and his release of the Imperial sceptre, reconstructed the broken political divisions by restoring lost territories among the principal powers. Poland, once an important kingdom before its subdivision by her more powerful neighbors, fell to Russia. Austria obtained a portion of Northern Italy, and Prussia secured territory from the German states. The political condition of the small states was restored nearly to their former situation, subject to principles of legitimacy and to the armed intervention of the great powers respecting their future modifications. The famous Germanic Confederation of States occurred at this time — a national league uniting Austria, Prussia, the German states, and the four free cities of Germany, to give durability to these political powers, in providing for their security against domestic insurrection, to defend each other from foreign invasion, by adopting measures of general concern from time to time in their diet or congress.

The local governments of these nations vary from an absolute form to that of limited monarchies. Their popular development is behind that of many of the European powers, not equal to their educational facilities and the learning brought to light by these people. Germany and Prussia being foremost in Europe in giving body to thought and diffusion to knowledge. These sub-divisions and independent sovereignties impair their individual

importance as political powers in an international sense, in the proportion of their sub-dividing experience. There is not sufficient strength of will and force concentrated which is readily available, excepting Austria, a secondary power in this respect, to effect great purposes with other nations, on the occasion of differences with opportunities presented for accretion and the promotion of political superiority, as is the case with Russia, Great Britain and France. They occupy, however, positions affording external security, lying, with the interior country of Europe, between those vigilant and ambitious powers of Russia, France, and Great Britain, holding what is called the "balance of power" in Europe. Their territorial integrity with respect to these growing nations is secured by the mutual lookout observed by them in relation to each other's advances and encroachments. Indeed, in Italy we have lately observed a great popular movement, promising success, having the reconstruction and consolidation of those states under one national government, unopposed by the principal powers in Europe, it being unattended with the diminution of their rightful territorial or political prospects.

Eastern European revolts in the last fifty years against ruling sovereignties, have not been attended with any important consequences of general advantage. The independence of Greece, of Turkish rule, was a happy result, without endangering the safety of the European equilibrium.

The Polish and Hungarian revolutions proved futile

in securing freedom and political independence; while they drenched those countries with blood and destroyed paternal relations forever. They served, though, to put absolutism, and its fiat, under the ban of continual public watchfulness, and to cause the ruling powers to give evidence of a leaning with liberality towards the rights of the humbler classes.

The Crimean wars which brought so much desolation to the field of its conduct in the Turco-Russian country, did nothing for the popular cause in the far East, except to reconcile religious differences under the respective governments, which were the first occasions of the war; and to determine the invincibility of the principal combatants, Russia, France, and Great Britain, and to give a better prospective view of each other's political bonndaries on the continent, as disturbing or interfering powers in the political affairs of Europe.

Central Europe, from the north to the south, has been the connecting link between Eastern and Western colonization and social advancement. The germs of what was excellent in the institutions of these countries were transplanted across the paths which they had served to illuminate and dignify. Among those old people hedged in by the contracted and crude usages of early adoption, was contained an intermediate race, advancing with glimmering indications of attaining higher ends in the future in new and extending fields of action, encouraged by fresh motives, and released from established forms become fixed and difficult to be superseded.

The invention of the mariner's compass became the guide leading to discovery, colonization, and the multiplication of the wealth of commerce—the revealer and the eqnalizer of the world's progress, in turning distant discoveries into practical account by means of reciprocal intercourse and the interchange of whatever may be of advantage to different communities. The invention of printing and of letter paper furnished the great agents in furthering and diffusing widely, knowledge confined to letters, comprehending the principles and customs of government, including the knowledge of judicature in its several spheres settled in its application of principles in determining the rights of individuals and states; covering the most important modes of civil process now in use, including trial by jury, the laws regulating questions of right and property in all their relations. These inventions were mainly instrumental in promoting the love of literature and science, which has taken such universal hold of modern generations, distinguishing them from those that existed during the first stages of the civilized world.

The penetrative progress made toward the secretive knowledge imbedded within the limits of science, in all its branches useful to mankind—to be drawn from its resting place by the operation of mind in its investigations, combined with the appropriate assistance of physical effort in adapting it to the arts of life in all their multiplicity, accomplished just on the eve of the age of modern times, was of vast benefit to succeeding generations in pointing out the way, and in furnishing the basis of a superior civ-

ilization, enlightened by the accumulation of the recorded as well as the visible evidences of its progressive movements; a condition belonging to the forward course of societies and states in which those in existence before the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were greatly deficient.

These discoveries, mentioned in the progress of the arts, of which it is asserted that the ancients established a patent for the first principles by which their subsequent development has been wrought out, in their varied application to constructive forms, in laws, government, religion, mechanics, in war and the conquest of nations, furnished the helm which has given direction to the moving world. The art of printing gave form to knowledge of easy multiplication, and the mariner's compass perfected navigation previously confined to narrow channels, by giving margin to voyages of indefinite extent. They have served to diffuse localizations, and to give them wide operation and effect under different circumstances, and with a corresponding difference in results, more than was possible in the first ages of mankind, before the many inventions which their increase, complicated and refined relations had made indispensable to be sought out.

Western Europe received the rudiments of its civil, religious, and military institutions from the central European meridian, which was favored with an earlier civilization. It has followed in advance of the footsteps of its predecessors, perfecting theories and principles and incorporating them in their civil systems with all the authority and weight of organic or constitutional sanction. New

societies or political relations, representing different nations, coming together in invasive or colonial capacities, in adopting them infused through them a new vigor arising from the superior force possessed by a united and homogeneous race.

That immense empire of Russia, in Eastern Europe, which is of modern growth, received its motive agencies from this quarter in the illustration of its national development, by the introduction of installments of its civilization and material progress. Its advance in the two last centuries in population, wealth, refinement, aud government, affords a speaking eulogy of the superiority of Western society over that of the extreme East in Europe.

The civil construction of the European system from time immemorial has been monarchial in its nature. This has been its primordial condition, and its innovations have been exceptions to the general operation of principles underlying the fabric of political rule in that country. The genius and the stability of political institutions for the due regulation and protection of the classified rights of the people, each one of whom has a share in the common stock of happiness, and in their industrial and adventurous occupations, have been studied by the major number of the leading minds of those old countries, so rich in their stores of learning and scientific acquisition, with a view of adapting this system to the requirements, advantage, and to the existence of states under the preponderating circumstances which arise periodically to give point to public policy; to determine the issues addressed to nations

requiring their support, and uninterrupted respect for expressions of authoritative will. When this will has overstepped the boundaries inclosing the dearest rights of subjects, and the recognized precedents of approved propriety, the right of revolution in some noted instances has been vindicated with a success corresponding very much with the legitimacy of its conduct. Absolutism in some of these revolutionary instances has more than maintained its pre-eminence in the support of its positions, especially with regard to subordinate and dependent powers by recourse to its ready and disciplined military corps.

Premature and unsuccessful revolutions are injurious to any cause, even though possessed of the vital sparks belonging to the noblest aspirations of men. They carry with them the illstarred prestige of failure, which is discouraging to the participants and disheartening to their successors. Successful revolutions rest on sure foundations, supported by evident means adequate to their prosecution and logical termination.

Some of the provincial powers of Europe have paid dearly for their failure in attempts to throw off the yoke, which fastened them to the prescribed routine of political and religious duties and obligations, imposed by centralized power with satellites and paid military forces. Hungary is a late example of an untimely effort to obtain separate nationality against overwhelming odds united to preserve the principle of political events in Europe, respecting the forms and limitations of the European systems. The settled politics of Europe for generations

past, with one small exception, have not admitted of democratic forms of rule without resorting to revolution, that of domestic or civil revolution containing the essence of revolutionary evils—revolution acting within a state instead of externally against foreign foes and enemies to its peace and welfare. They have been fraught with much misfortune, great social revulsions and changes, new complications, ruinous effects to industrial pursuits, the loss of public and private credit, political alienations, and the attainment of imperfect results both in popular and monarchical relations. The difficulty of superceding old and established forms of government with the reins of power strongly in the hands of any class, is shown by the mighty revolutions of those great Western European nations of England and France, under circumstances, however, provocative of a resort to forcible measures; and the experience of mankind proves that political power once possessed is never released without paying court to the law of necessity, save a few, as rare as they are illustrious, examples of public disinterestedness and deference to public sentiment. Cincinnatus of old, Washington and Lafayette of our own age, stand as conspicuous instances of retiracy from the performances of great services in the field aud the cabinet, with the muniments of power in their possession.

Notwithstanding the disastrous consequences of civil revolutions in Europe in many respects, history asserts the fact of their repeated foundation in principles of right and universal justice in opposition to usurpation and tyr-

anny. Their fruits have had a beneficial influence in shaping the destinies of mankind in both hemispheres.

The inroads made upon the ruling systems have vitalized popular branches, and placed imsuperable barriers in the way of arbitrary assumption of power. These popular concessions are retained by the most enlightened and advanced nations of Europe. England and France have their houses of commons, or citizens elected by the suffrages of the people; and both of them are independent of the administrative and hereditary branches of the government. Laws for the government of those countries cannot have effect without the sanction of these legislative branches, relative to supplies or to the mere forms of administering public affairs. They compose the courts of the people, and are the custodians of their liberties and sentiments; they reflect their will in acts of legislation, and are more responsible to them than any other branch of political power for the preservation of the true constitutional principles of government, in contradistinction to usurpation, abuse of prerogatives, and profligacy. Holding their functions of office through the recurring choice and consent of the people, they become inevitably their organs in affecting their political purposes under government.

Popular advances having the just and general equality of all sects and callings in view, seek their attainment in modifying the constituent principles of government through these channels. Every individual or citizen is afforded peaceful opportunity for accomplishing the de-

signs comprehended in a similarity of qualifications for preferment in politics or the church, and also as a means of securing a just social equilibrium. Revolutions in public sentiment, always undergoing some change in consequence of new features appearing in affairs among all regular governments, may work out their proper ends of government reform through these politically organized bodies of commons, when they exist in a state, without incurring the danger of abrupt and violent departures from settled systems and principles of action, in the adoption of compromise measures to relieve political inequalities and disadvantages.

Under restrictive governments of every degree, two principles operate in antagonism, both intent on reaching a positive development under public sanction—the hereditary principle which never lapses except in default of family issue, and the popular or elective principle.

The hereditary branch of restrictive governments affords a guaranty for its conservatism, and its permanence in its peculiar civil construction, by making its distinct existence as a higher and appellant co-executive power, depend on the life of the system which gave it vitality. Additional security, in the abuse of physical power to maintain the existence of the hereditary branch, rests in its coordinate branch—the intermediate body of commons, with appropriate powers founded in the intelligence of the mass of the people. When misrule or public grievances reach a highly offensive state, they may find utterance, and seasonable satisfaction in restraining the exercise of im-

politic and hurtful acts of authority by withholding its co-operative aids when manifestly injurious to the community. Otherwise public wrongs of repeated aggravation are forced to be redressed by appeals directed to the citadel of power to an extent suited to the relative importance and conduct of the respective parties, either in granting concessions, or in efforts to destroy its foundation, which is the province of civil revolution.

That government which has a popular branch attached to it, is evidently the safest, being less exposed to the danger of great revulsions and revolutions, by the constant vigilence brought to bear over all the interests and concerns of public consideration. . No one interest, or class of interests, ordinarily gain such an ascendency over others as to endanger the regular and successful course of public affairs. The hold on affairs now obtained in Europe by the commonality, among ruling powers, is of such a grave and substantial character as to warrant the belief that no political change will work its release to the detriment and destruction of the popular supremacy now gained and reduced to practical forms within the structure of its instituted governments, while the love of political and religious freedom shall find a ready responce with the multitude of its sober and enlightened minds, now become the growth of the toil and experience of centuries amidst the vicissitudes of the conflicting elements which ever arise to agitate and hazard the best formed governments on earth.

The element of revolution in Europe has its standing

supporters and partisans, watching the course of events, ready to take advantage of their weakness and turn them to the account of new arrangements and constituted authorities, having for their declared end the recognition of accrued rights and the welfare of country. Italy, the seat of ancient revolution and conquest, has recently, as we have already remarked, been the theatre of revolutionary proceedings to supplant her long existing systems of political organization, with freer and more popular institutions. Results yet seek their completeness concerning the ultimate fortunes of her varied destiny.

The substitution of new forms and new associations in a government is a work attended with many and diverse contingencies, under the most favoring circumstances which the eminent propriety and justice of events may cluster around the actors. The responsibilities of power when assumed by new parties with modified public professions, carry with them increased expectations and equally increased difficulties in the way of their realization. Fair trial can alone test the relative advantages of change both in measures and systems of government. No system yet devised by the skill and wisdom of man has been proof against the laws of dissolution written on the first pages of history. This is the normal condition of man since the fatal fall recorded in their earliest history; the same written law is visible in all their works of adaptation of things to their use and happiness. Change in some form is the law of existence.

In forms of government, "whatever is best adminis-

tered, is best," says a profound poet. This is true in an important sense, yet an ill devised government in theory may fortunately possess so much virtue, goodness, and wisdom in its personal attributes as to obviate deficiencies of organic construction. But this is not a safe rule to follow. The history of rulers furnishes unworthy and sad details of maladministration and gross injustice when following the course of their own discretion in the deep scenes of surrounding difficulties and accumulating trials, in sustaining the fortunes of themselves in the conduct of popular concerns. Wrong principles and ill intended acts of sovereign performance have been overruled and mysteriously designed to advance the character of Christian civilization, to place it on better and more true foundations in all of its insipient progress, during the mists of its morning and the noonday of its majestic movement. True principles in philosophy, ethics, and politics, have had to contend with error first embraced, with its weapons of defense and of aggression in closing the avenues threatening the overthrow of established principles and organizations.

A better system among all the grades of government for society, as shown by results, is one in which the active parties of it have a guaranty in the theory of its construction for the protection of their rights, and a real share, as well as a voice, in the acts of its administration. Thus public responsibility is diffused, the equipoise of government is retained on a surer footing, and its conduct made a consideration of widely extended obligation. Measures founded in error and prosecuted with mistaken purposes,

fall on the public with less force and give less opportunity for recourse to violent revolutionary acts in their correction, and the restoration of juster relations. The several forces of a state once brought into positive exercise, following the law of their origin cease to act only as they become impotent for accomplishing purposes of practical advantage, yielding necessarily to the prevailing ideas which may chance to rule. The wisdom of events is certainly much influenced by the preliminary steps taken in their direction by those on whom devolve the privilege or the duty of leading initiatory proceedings. The responsibility incurred by the master spirits in society can only be measured by the degree of intelligence which they possess to guide them in the direction of their acts, and their adherence to known principles of integrity.

The fate of civilized society, in all of its associations, has been thrown into doubtful positions with uncertain issues, in all ages of the world, moved by its ruling passions and interests, whether in seeking its improvement or in the maintenance of existing orders and institutions. The political phenomena which have appeared on the surface of society in all of its stages and transitions, have been prolific of inconsistency in declared purposes in the ratio of its succession. Men, with their policies and institutions, have given way to the raging influences of passing events, in the domain of religion, politics, and speculation. Changes in their turn have settled the discriminating policy of astute statesmanship, and contributed in their modifications to raise or depress competing interests. The relig-

ion of yesterday has received political condemnation today, again to be tolerated and taken into communion. Freedom and restriction, in morals, the press, in the pursuits of life, have been varied and reversed, according to the exigencies of the occasion, and the demands of prior prejudices and renewed objects revived by the accidents and successes of rival relations.

Powers and Potentates have thrown out their flags emblazoned so as to catch the breeze of favor and support on now ventures over the stormy and perilous sea of political experiment. Organic deficiencies, when existing, have been improved successively by dominating power to the prejudice and injury of the cherished principles and vital concerns of powerless members. Hence the unspeakable importance of basing the groundwork of human institutions fast in the eternal depths of the affections, the justice, and the immutable rights of men.

The popular advancement made in government is creditable to the mechanism of man; and the capacity which he has shown, through all the mutations and trials of time, to fulfill its obligations and duties, gives encouragement of hope and confidence that the advance now made shall never be relinquished while the present progressive civilization shall exist.

The destiny of popular institutions was first cast in the old world. The period of their first and most perfect existence was clouded with the occurrences and calamities of a troubulous era, when mankind were not blessed with general education, and therefore less universally fitted to

grapple with the problems indissolubly connected with their continuance and propagation; when the hostilities of opposing systems culminated in the destruction of the weaker, and in leaving them to the fate of a predatory and more vigorous, but less civilized people, falling among them on expeditions in quest of adventure and conquest—a people unfitted to revive these lost institutions in their pristine vigor.

The next appearance of popular institutions in government, after passing in review before the courts of Western Europe, and having some of their most valuable features adopted, was destined to occur in America amid new scenes, dilemmas, inspirations, experiences and triumphs, never to be forgotten while the memory of her sons shall treasure the instincts and noble achievements of a patriotism which knew no limits, until the popular liberties of the country were secured beyond a peradventure, with no undischarged obligations to other and antagonistic systems of government, and cabinets, for its birth-right of political independence.

Europe, in the mean time, had become wedded to liberal ideas and theories in her civil organizations, not inconsistent with the appointed order of her ministerial regulations, or the style of nationalities. Her people, to a considerable extent, had raised for themselves a high and deserved standard of public qualifications in all the departments of society by dint of indomitable perseverance and power of effort over organized bodies.

It was eminently fitting that liberal political principles

should be wafted across the wide Atlantic, to take root in an unoccupied and unincumbered field, where they might have growth and expansion equal to their requirements when depending mainly on their own inherent properties, in securing the forms and modes of civil procedure.

Europe was to learn their practicable or impracticable nature, on the basis of a free and regulated association, in furthering the highest aims of the social state. Popular principles have been incorporated in the political structure of members of the European system. They have their destiny in this era to work out in the race of preferment in institutions of opposite distinctions, to be a blessing or an affliction as they shall be intelligently or blindly and recklessly pursued. The oracle of consultation, in the issue of events, rests in the intelligence, the love of justice, the virtue, and in the propriety of public and private conduct, in the affairs of society.

SECOND
DISSERTATION ON GOVERNMENT,
WITH ITS
POPULAR ADVANCEMENT.

In the noble movement of the study of government and the promotion of its popular advancement, the greatest and most fortunate acts performed in the work of popularizing its institutions, in comparably, with all other ages of civilization in the wide field given to society to perfect its organizations and to enact its highest and most benevolent purposes, were deferred to the period of American colonization. The new seat of empire in the bloom of freshness and vigor rose in the horizon of the boundless West, destined to solve the practical truth of the noblest assumptions of human rights ever affirmed and ventured to be realized as living and repeated actualities of national life; assumptions taking the livery of just rights in social and religious relations, and in the properties of government gained from the stores of information and experience which had been accumulating during a long and eventful process in maturing opinions and developing organized society under all possible conditions.

History had inscribed on its pages strong doubts, the result of repeated experiments, of the constant capacity of society at large to perform its duties of government under a due sense of all its obligations, and preserve its wonted completeness and integrity solely by the force of its voluntary action and will, moved by no other power except its conceptions of public good. These inauspicious lessons and examples of popular demonstration were provided with a great opportunity to prove the virtue of their inherent principles, as studied and re-enacted under manifestly better circumstances for a fair trial and a test of their adaptation to public necessities, with new demands pressing on the constructive faculties of the popular mind awakened to a more perfect consideration of political interests and capabilities.

The contemplations and acts of the American people in sustaining liberal principles in their social organisms, conforming them to the solemnities of the law, and in making them subservient to their happiness and welfare, indeed, a condition of their compact, were far beyond what had ever before been undertaken by any people. They were fortunate in having more knowledge derived from the natural sphere of observation and thought, from inquiries in metaphysics and the abstruse sciences, than their predecessors. They possessed the rudiments of a better knowledge in all the departments of learning and experience. Previous generations who figuered in the affairs of European life, and illumined the historic pages of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were instru-

mental in sending the rays of light and intelligence over a wide circumference of country at home, which were reflected across the Atlantic to give impetus to a new generation in their primal labors, rich in the poverty of their possessions. The lights of Christianity, of literature, and science, and of politics, trimmed and brightened by a Luther, a Newton, and a Galieo, a Bacon, a Hampden, a Sydney, and a Burke, component members of a galaxy of the most potential intellects which have moved the world at any time since its creation, shed their refulgent and fructifying influences across the disc of the world's progress at the time of the opening of American affairs in their full fruition, to an extent that had not been before witnessed by humanity in the most favored period of its existence.

Great responsibilities were devolved on American society in its comparatively untrammeled situation—forming a new limb in the body of Christendom, to prove the value and enduring excellence of the principles of religious and political freedom, the offshoots of a crowded, struggling, and hostile combination of systems, each seeking to survive opposition if not to supplant each other. The weaker naturally sought unchallenged ground to cultivate its vital characteristics, and to enlarge the area of its sympathies, its successes, and triumphs, over the forces arrayed against its aspiring tendencies.

Our pilgrim fathers in coming to the shores of the American continent discovered a latent principle, which, when exercised completely, occasioned extraordinary in-

fluences to pass over both continents in checking the evils of an oligarchy on the one, and in laying the principles of liberty on broad and deep foundations on the other. Liberty in the church, without the deprivations and onerous exactions arising from the union of church and state, was a fundamental idea in the constitution of its government, and in the spread of its doctrines. Liberty of thought, of opinion, of conscience, were the three central pivots on which its movement depended. The bitter experience of proscription and exterminating acts among opposing orders in Europe, led the founders of the institutions of this country to build the groundwork of their system at once upon the rock of liberal and reciprocal toleration, both in church and state. This principle happily and wisely established was greatly influential in peopling this country by foreign accessions, on which it depended for some time for its proper increase, with a rapidity previously unexampled. Toleration in opinion, and equal freedom of action, were the original cement of Colonial accretion, and the corner-stone of the mighty political structure since erected in our country.

The doctrine of church independence first advocated by the Brownists in England as early as 1580, from whom the Puritans or Congregationalists lineally descended, was first transplanted, after having an unpromising course for subsequent success to Holland, then to New-England, as the fundamental principle of the church of the emigrants who landed at Plymouth, in 1620, known as the leaders of the New-England Pilgrims. It was associated with dem-

ocratic forms in its government; every church constituted of itself a body politic, depending on the principle of self-government for its regulation and existence. The church became, therefore, in every inportant sense, free, composed of voluntary and independent members coming together in the spirit and through the influence of the Christian religion alone, separate from all other associations and even kindred religious denominations.

This principle of toleration and freedom recognized in the government of the church was calculated to have a beneficial effect in liberalizing the political government of the Colonies, so far as exercised by them. Even the departures from this principle resulted in good to other colonial branches in America, in extending the attributes of toleration. A rigid and growing illiberality among the Puritans in adhering to their religious views and church discipline, and in harmonizing opinions of church and state accordingly, corrupted the professed rules of religious aud civil action first introduced to govern them, and caused individual persecutions, an evil from which they had severely suffered themselves. The persecution and banishment of Roger Williams, a minister of Salem, for entertaining and advocating views of liberality and independence respecting religious and civil concerns, contrary to those prevailing in the community in which he lived, was the occasion of laying the foundation of a new colony, afterwards called Rhode Island, on the avowed basis of freedom in religion and politics. As a consequence of local persecutions, liberal principles gained a strong hold

of the sympathies and the mind of the several colonies, which were gradually adopted in their systems of church and political government. Maryland was nourished into political life on the comprehensive basis of political and religious freedom, by a sect both the inflicters and the sufferers of persecution for opinion's sake.

Republicanism in America commenced in the church. The ideas of which it is composed, and which have overspread a continent in their gigantic progress, embodied in the sentiments and in the preliminary acts of the passengers contained in the Mayflower, first touched the then inhospitable coast at Plymouth rock, rendered doubly dreary by the severities of a Northern clime. Religious freedom was the chief motive which induced these people to break away from Europe and find their fortunes in a new country; following the dictates of freedom in this particular, they readily embraced the same views pertaining to political freedom as opportunity afforded them occasion to apply them in whole or in part to their colonial situation. Before landing, the Puritans, thrown out of their destination to the country included in Virginia, by the supposed gratified cupidity of their captain, and being released from the obligations of their Charter restrictions, formed and adopted a constitution of government, by which they formed themselves into a civil body-politic, with power to elect their officers, and to pass the necessary ordinances for their general welfare and protection. They had an executive, a council, and an assembly, at first composed of the whole body of the people like that

of Athens, but afterwards reduced to a representative number. The popular principle with respect to representation had, however, been incorporated in the government of the colony of Virginia a little before this event, by conceding to it the right to elect an assembly called the house of burgesses, to share in legislation, with the executive officers appointed by the British sovereign.

Representation in all acts of legislation was the grand prineiple for which the pioneers in colonial affairs contended, both at home and in the govcrnment of Great Britain, to an extent and concerning such acts of government as should conveniently come before the cognizance of each. It was a principle allied with their dearest interests, and on which their substance depended for wise provision and protection. For this privilege or right as they claimed, they were willing to sacrifice present comfort, property, and life, if need be, to place it beyond the reach of opposition and hurtful restriction, in the disposition of the rewards of their daily toil, and in directing the fortunes of their distant enterprises on the sea in conducting commercial transactions with older and more wealthy people. To obtain this concession of principle, they remonstrated and negotiated with the chief government for years in vain, in the hope of obtaining a satisfactory compromise of the issue or principle.

The colonial governments, continuing under various modifications and limitations of their popular representative features, so as to embrace what now constitutes Thirteen States in America, suffered no alarming invasions of

their important rights until the period of British taxation arrived for replenishing the coffers of the exhausted treasury, reduced in prosecuting military objects of occupation and invasion, particularly in the region of Canada, then held by France.

The imposition of duties, stamped and otherwise, on the trade of the colonies, for the express purpose of raising revenue for the British treasury, was met in the outset with unyielding opposition; their conditional repeal in some cases only, and the assertion of the right to impose taxation without their representation or consent in any mode, produced one of those mighty collisions of arms over disputed rights rarely the lot of nations.

The Declaration of Independence followed fruitless efforts at reconciliation in 1776, by the congress of the Thirteen Colonies. It was the sublime completion of a series of public measures devised by them to hold their well considered rights in absolute possession. Prodigious consequences, for weal or woe, rested on the sequel of the revolutionary drama which then followed. Armies, European and Continantal, occupied the battle field in America, in defense of the respective positions of the parties in the contest. The right of provincial regulation through the direct sovereignty of the British government, of one of the most important interests of a political power—that of taxation, with other assumed prorogatives of authority over the judicial and interior ordering of the colonies, formed the basis of the conflict supported by the one; and the right of elective representative government in the

precipitancy of events was maintained by the other; they sought government that should be free and independent of all other nations—the offspring of usurpation and violated constitutional rights as previously determined by citizens of Britain on their own soil.

The seven years' war after the Declaration, being decided in favor of distinct nationality, independence, and popular freedom, novel obligations and duties occurred between the colonies. The propriety of their revolt and revolutionary conduct was to be shown in the wisdom of their acts in re-establishing political relations, institutions, and governments. These three millions of people, released from allegiance and fealty to preceding European sovereignty, which had exercised superintending control over them in their first labors to organize communities and states, as branches of a parent stock, found themselves the guardians of the popular principles of liberty throughout the universal world, by their anomalous and strictly free situation in their associations, and toward contemporaries.

Union was the lesson of the war of the revolution and of the anterior proceedings which gave it birth. By union, agreement in council, and an unselfish co-operation in the use of the means leading to success, the great struggle was carried to an auspicious conclusion. By the force of union, politically, was the noble result to be sustained amid the jealousies and unfriendly designs of defeated or aggressive nations. The assemblage of Colonial congresses to inaugurate and carry forward the revolution

and other measures of political welfare, was introductory to the formation of a Constitutional union, which was accomplished in 1777, by the adoption of Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Uuion by the Congressional delegates of the declared Thirteen States. This was for the administration of their general concerns, and separate in its operation in theory from state institutions and local affairs. This political Union prevailed through the revolution and subsequently, till 1787, when its imperfections and deficiencies in the several branches constituting an efficient government for the United States, became so evident, that on suggestions being urged in and out of congress, a Convention of delegates of the people was convoked in 1787, which framed the matchless Federal Constitution that has borne the original United States of America in an unbroken and increasing brotherhood for more than seventy years, to an unprecedented fortune in political and material possessions.

The highest political duty which a people can perform, beyond comparison, is that of organizing government out of the crude elements composing a state; especially is this evident when the formulas by which it is to be reduced to systematic order and made to move in the orbit designed for it, are new or comparatively untried. This was eminently the case with the United States; it is true that forms of republican government existed before, but not such forms in their national import as was contemplated in the establishment of these states, single and united. They were deficient in adhesive principle; in this more certain

ground was intended to be taken theoretically. The Constitution of 1787 was the most perfectly drawn and imposing written declaration of rights and duties towards the governed which had then appeared in the popular arena—a free gift to a free people by citizen statesmen. It was the embodiment of public maxims attached to the precise distinctions of persons, incorporated iu rules of administration in accordance with regulated rights, comprehending knowledge and sagacity derived from the experience of many generations combined with a fresh portion of discernment falling into the residium of political intelligence relative to the province of Constitutional law.

This national adjustment of sovereign power partakes of the nature of that of the states, though having separate jurisdiction in its sphere of action, and constitutes the freest and least restrictive general government in its national powers, holding and exercising them in subordination to the municipal and original rights of the people, yet devised by the political understanding of statesmen of any time since its institution became a subject of study and practice. Popular theories in government never before possessed such vantage ground in being applied to the proceedings and forms of administration. They were confronted by the pre-occupation of long established restrictive principles represented by the few, unfriendly to the exercise of suffrage by the aggregate population on a large scale. Education and experience combined to give fixedness of opinion and purpose to the public mind in arranging the construction of their political fabric. The

American mind had favored the frequentness and the universality of the elective franchise in state from the beginning. This fundamental idea had grown with their strength and become interwoven with the life af their organizations.

With the inauguration of free and independent government came the establishment of measures of public policy having for their object its support, and to minister to the industrial and commercial forces of the country in the hour of its first essay in seeking a place among enterprising and complete nations. Separated, politically, by force from the greatest commercial power in existance, it gave a blow to that friendship inseparable with the profitable conduct of commerce. Unlike other nations that had gone before us and had risen to the heights of surpassing greatness through exchanges with the world, the United States held a fountain from which multitudinous supplies were to gush forth at the wand of the skillful pioneers in her affairs.

In organizing the government of the United States, the three indispensible branches of civil polity were created in the distribution of powers, the executive, the concurrent legislative, and the judicial. The two former resting on the basis of popular sovereignty, or the rule of the people, according to their will as expressed at stated times; the latter called into existence by the joint acts of the two principal powers to give interpretation to law, of which the elective-legislative branches have final control by the use of one adequate additional concentration of numerical

power provided in the Constitution, in this absence of an elective Judiciary. The principle of representation of the whole people under a regulated system of general suffrage, was sagaciously engrafted in the framework of this organic government, and the respective grades of the co-ordinate official ministers of public administration were perfected on a plan of popular distinction and permanence never before equaled in free governments. The fault of ancient democratic governments was, that their executive heads in their known character as governors, presidents, or consular agents, held their distinctive positions under precacarious tenures, not so fixed as legislative assemblies; they were liable to be superceded in name by the happening of an unusual exigency, partly superinduced by the uncertain appreciation placed on the office of chief minister of state. The United States' system recognizes the name and attributes of each of its departments of sub-divided power as precisely alike in duration, and of corresponding limitations in effect; one branch cannot prove a failure without impairing the whole.

It was within the powers of these states to establish themselves on a footing of comparative freedom of others in their industrial concerns, with their government once clearly in operation, exclusively their own; the national consumption lay hidden within the productive resources of their own limits. Every essential article of domestic use was possible to be obtained of their own growth, consequently greater decision in council prevailed than would have been the case in countries narrowed latitudinally and

therefore limited in natural products, depending upon foreign resources to supply the residium found wanting in the treasury of substance. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, sought their true province with the incidental assistance due each in the first and crude trials made to bring them to perfection. To block out a system embracing these branches of national dependence, to have controlling weight in determining questions of public economy as they might arise, with shades of difference springing from new conditions in things, presented a course for statesmen to tread with the horoscope of novelty constantly before their eyes. Turn whither they would, new scenes and duties opened to them in introducing this youthful republic to the circle of nations, standing conspicuously alone, an example of new born constitutional strength and self-reliant energies.

Questions of finance, of taxation, of commerce, between the states and with foreign nations, of defenses with the improvements therefor, those relating to the promotion of public intercourse, national and international, to the rights of eminent domain, to the extension of the theory of equal and confederated government, to the preservation of the Union, and the avoidance of encroachments on the special rights of the states, required a broad survey of the conflicting aptitudes and powers reposing within the limits of this great portion of America. Never was there a grander opportunity for the display of republican and truly statesmenlike qualities, uniting address, talent, and comprehension, than was here afforded in the public service,

nor has there ever been a more masterly exhibition of them by any young people in the same time since government has been a study with mankind.

Protection was the chief design of our government, in life, liberty, and property, in the concrete, leaving the citizen free to choose his manner of life, and the body of citizens free to elect and control the modes of pursuing their business affairs, without fostering any extra ministerial or judicial machinery to dictate laws of regulation out of their own sphere. This principle worked itself out in the memorable contest relative to a national monied institution. The financial policy of the government was for a time the absorbing subject of consideration, as involving the adoption of a consolidated fiscal institution, similar to hereditary governments with functions partly governmental and partly of business operation; twice adopted to assist the country and its government out of severe pecuniary pressures when means on call were of limited extent. Banking and government have since been deemed to be incompatible as co-existing institutions with a people—the source and support of all public transactions, claiming of right only protection in the prosecution of their legitimate occupations in the business community, yielding tribute from their ordinary available business resources as an equivalent for this service. It has been carried still further, reaching abroad very much owing to American activity, in assuring immunity to citizens traveling the highways of nations, under the national flag which floats over them, whenever and wherever found engaged in es-

teemed lawful pursuits. This has been one of the most grateful offices performed by the national authorities toward its citizens, and merits, largely, the approbation of all public spirited nations.

The inspiration of statesmanship has been signally manifested in American public life, although our great progress is in part due the rebounding force of the native energies of the country in pressing onward in the career of greatness, besides the indebtedness to wise public arrangements in facilitating settlement, pupulation, industry, and the private ownership of soil—the distinguishing characteristic of our political system, resting the government on substantial and voluntary properties held by its citizens, and not on armies, navies, and entailed property. The early and triumphant example of the United States in popularizing its institutions has had a due and in some instances a worthy influence throughout the Western Continent, in shaping the events of different states in determining the relations of government and people.

South America was discovered and settled nearly at the same time that our northern half of this great West was opened to the adventurous schemes of the civilization of the East. South America was less encouraged during tha first seasons of her civilization than the moiety of the continent to the north. The race of people differed in their origin, their education, and in their discernment of the agencies by which the progress of colonization was to be conducted. The Anglo-Saxon, the Celt, and the Gallic people, had been schooled in the successive adversities

and partially favorable gales of reality, in the realization of the much desired privileges attending superior cultivation and general capability. Tired of the vicissitudes and struggles following with stronger organizations, they sought relief and the maturity of their plans of improvement in the occupation of space in the foreground of society, less challenged with the right of pre-eminence. These colonists were of Portuguese and Spanish descent, of less strength and force in the fibre of their constitution, and in the ready aspirations of their nature; unstimulated, too, by the draughts of liberal doctrines, in church and government, which had excited so much enthusiasm, and which had ventilated so amply old dogmas and systems in Germany and Western Europe in their first inhaling effects. They were still devoted to secular orders and subject to ancient and restrictive regulations. Their administration was pro consular. The *personnel* of it was taken from home. They eagerly crossed the Atlantic to rule the colonies, and to increase their individual fortunes, to return again to the old country to enjoy their gain in the circles of affluence and elegant ease.

It was a country well supplied with the means of acquiring wealth in the precious metals. The mountains and valleys were filled with silver and gold so largely as to incline the cupidity of the settlers to mining, with its accompanying want of thriftiness and its vices, to the exclusion of agriculture and manufactures, the true sources of the enduring wealth and prosperity of nations. This industry supplied the pockets of Spanish officials, but did

not build states and cities, and supply commerce with its manifold dependencies equal to the progress then making in North America.

Their first governments were planned in supersticious, theocratic, and isolated theories, suited to the ambitious designs of absolute rulers more intelligent than the mass, and intent on preserving the essentials of their supremacy. The Peruvian province was governed by Incas, or "children of the sun;" other provinces were almost in as low a state of educational and political preferment. The general intelligence was thus unequal to the task of founding states and governments on the broad basis of free institutions, which has since been illustrated on a scale quite complimentary to those Spanish races. Despotic influences wrought changes in the better informed mind of these people, which became manifest as oportunity assisted in their promulgation. The principles of the revolution, as the key to their deliverance, gained ground among them subsequent to the era of the American and French revolutions. Spanish rule was destined to sink irrecoverably under the weight of its own weakness, not without brooking sanguinary engagements with the provincial armies. Miranda led the movement of revolution. He was followed by Bolivar, as commander of the liberating army, who obtained important victories over Spanish troops, and laid the foundation of South American Independance. He was the presiding spirit in forwarding the termination of the dominion of Spain on that part of this continent,

and gained for himself the character of the father of liberal institutions among those political powers.

Brazil acquired her independance in 1822, with an hereditary monarchy aud two legislative bodies, one of these being appointed by the emperor and the other chosen by the people, similar to the liberal European governments.

Independent Republics now exist in nine of the eleven South American States. They are completely in the ascendancy, and bid fair not to lose their distinct characteristics in conjunction with restrictive forms of political regulation.

Central America has emerged from its earlier situation of an unenlightened and backward condition—a republic after the model of that of the United States; mutual hostilities have prevented it from realizing the happy results of a state of peace. This region has also been the source of much international litigation and irritation between the United States and Great Britain, relating to the right of transit across this pathway, for the commerce of the world to reach the ports of the Pacific by the shortest practicable route. Its importance will be diminished on the construction of Pacific railways through the states from the Atlantic ports.

Mexico has been the most unfortunate of American states in her revolutionary experience. Conquered by Spain in 1521, and conquered from her three hundred years afterwards; she has since been afflicted with internal dissensions and civil revolutions. The republic of

Mexico has been a military rather than a civil power. Presidents have been installed, seemingly, only to gratify a factious and insubordinate desire, when becoming sufficiently formidable, to depose them. She must be duly sensible long before this of the humiliations proceeding from bitter political animosities, complications, interior contests and inglorious victories, among a people whose interests should be identical, and whose purposes and acts should correspond with the idea of unity, freedom, independence, and the joint sacrifices and benefits resulting in the necessary and logical operation of government in all of its departments. I will not draw the picture of Mexican folly, internal revolutions, temporary administrations, and her practical imperfections, while scenes having resemblance reside in the United States, showing the blighting effects of discord and disunion in diminishing the natural fruits of our great industrial and notable Union of States when in the line of accord and co-operation.

The settlement and the people of both divisions of the Continent of America were peculiarly typical of a distinct order of colonization, of moral, intellectual and political advancement. North America was earlier introduced to the precepts and examples of free government by the force of education and greater freedom in developing the events of their condition in establishing the sub-strata of states. The human mind had become re-awakened, and had performed wonderful advances in redeeming itself from the blind superstition, abuses, and the bondage of centuries of confinement amid the glooms and the repulsive forces of

partially civilized races. Before the American discovery, new ideas embracing the whole range of human knowledge had taken hold of the philosophical, religious, and the politically speculative mind in Europe; they were sown broadcast whither the force of circumstances, at an adventurous period, scattered them. They took the lead in moulding the manners and institutions of this new people in their infancy. Greater freedom with individuals and societies was gaining approbation, as liberty to act became manifest. Right and public justice asserted their claims to the homage of governing powers as occasion offered to give exercise to these exalted attributes of authority.

In government the genius of rule was studied and illustrated on a scale of the largest allowance to popular liberty compatible with the principle of perpetuity, in contradiction to absolutism and hereditary right. The people were looked to as the sources of power, and their consent was deemed necessary to fix its limits and to execute its purposes. America stood in the same relation to the political world in the modern age, that Greece and Rome stood toward that of the ancient. She was designated to illustrate the democratic idea in government, and to infuse within it new life and an enduring vitality corresponding with the demands of a more determinate and certain course of affairs, sustained by additional weights added to the balance wheels of modern society.

How to act and to go forward in the humanitarian career initiated in the settlement of the United States of America, in transferring power from the few to the many,

by legitimate means, pacifically and effectually without overturning the just exercise of magisterial authority, acknowledged in the beginning, was the problem in this country to be solved. As some times occurs in the exercise of delegated authority of long standing, extra administrative and judicial functions were imposed to such an extent as to vitiate the foundation sources of representative government, the rights of the people which they claimed as their inheritance, and which their discipline in the school of constitutional liberty proved to be of great intrinsic value. The representative principle was the grand feature in governing with the pioneers of the new continent. Its perversion was the great error of the mother country. She discovered it only when it was too late to remedy the disastrous consequences of it to her territories and her resources. Remonstrance and conciliatory overtures made to her by the most influential citizens of America, failed, and as has been already observed, revolution, the mighty agent of states, was summoned to assert the definitive relative relations of persons and principles, to redress grievances and to command respect for the sovereignty of the people. This was the lever by which the several colonies and provinces in both Americas ultimately gained their independence. Union of adequate extension consolidated their liberties when won.

We now behold popular theories and institutions interwoven with the framework of political establishments from the foundation upward till such a height and perfection has been attained as to excite fears of progressive

continuance in the right line of progress, they form politically what might justly be termed the American system. The people are sovereigns according to their own regularly ordered and approved law. Sovereigns, princes and created classes, to bear the burdens of state and to share its peculiar advantages, as prevail under restrictive governments, are superceded by the people under this system.

The responsibilities of political conduct, arduous and hazardous always with nations of the first class, require a scrupulous observance of the conditions by which they are held. These conditions are closely allied with diffusive education, morality, integrity, and the principle of union. Union of sentiment organized enough to be efficient; and of states, that they may be able to do right without fear under all circumstances, and also competent to require the continuance of it from others, and their observance of it when collision ensues. Such are the supports of the American political system. They constitute the study and the practice of the people. With them rest these obligations in all their magnitude. Our popular governments will have to undergo trials and vicissitudes; this may be expected as an incident to their existence—as a consequence of the unstability of all human affairs, and the experience of every form of government under the sun.

Opposing forces relate to every existence known in the animate and the inanimate world; they serve in some degree to promote activity, and to stimulate dormant energies; to bring out the life that may be wanting to secure preservation. To maintain the preponderant vital balance

is the secret of public associations, of regulated law, and of local or national government; this over obstacles and serious difficulties, unwittingly or designedly, in the way of their regular course; their equilibrium really lost, sweeping occurrences follow, fatal to their integrity, if not destructive to their entirety.

The great indebtedness of the American people is due the system introduced by their pilgrim fathers which has diffused common education so universally in our country, through the agency of the state. This is the equalizer and the accepted standard of public merit. It is this which chiefly distinguishes men in the various pursuits connected with human industry, and which renders them comparatively able to discharge professional, social, or political duties. As they have been educated, they act, following the bent of their inclinations and the rules of studied action suited to such new modifications, relations and conditions as occur successively in the order of ideal and practical transactions. If the school is a vicious or deficient one evil and inconclusive performance may attend acts however well purposed to subserve useful ends. The educational plan of the United States partakes largely of the character of our free political institutions, as far as applicable in drawing out and training the talent of the country, free of church and state sectarianism; the right to imbibe doctrines is as free as the air inhaled. From time immemorial common education has been generously provided with the means required for its general diffusion. New England to her honor has been foremost in forwarding

this noble enterprize; in disbursing a good share of her revenues to meet the educating necessities of her people. The excellence of this measure has communicated itself to the approval and adoption of her sister states. Most, if not all of whom yield a portion of their substance to sustain it, while the general government, in the primary disposal of the territory of the United States, has wisely donated regularly subdivided tracts to endow schools and colleges, so that education has moved apace with settlement and population, vastly to the benefit of those born on our soil, and to those cast upon our shores by the waves of emigration from the crowded East. This has been the instrument, with habitual intercourse, in adapting races to each other, and in giving homogeniousness to our living multitudes.

The public press, with rightly directed education, furnishes a safeguard against the licentiousness or utter perversion of the morality and integrity of public as well as private life; the mirror to show the errors as well as the beneficial acts of persons and communities; its influence depends greatly on its adherence to an open and attaching sense of prosperity and reciprocal justice. The appearance of gross evil of itself breaks the tendency of its repetition, when suitably arrayed before an intelligent public opinion alive to the importance of preserving the forms and the character essential to the integrity of all its obviously necessary associations. When the public press shall descend completely to dishonorable and immoral customs as the medium of general intelligence, and the

depository of the transpiring facts of society, a shock will be given to its peace and wellfare, existing in a prosperous and happy state, that will shake it to its deepest foundations. The hope of the required qualifications of the general mind has close connection with the fidelity and truthfulness of the press. While this shall remain true to its vocation as a faithful chronicler and interpreter of the movements and occurrences belonging to public consideration, security may be felt for its stability.

The importance of the union of communities and states commenced with our independence, and has never ceased to commend itself to our forbearance, cultivation and approval, if the splendid realities of the past alone are summoned to testify with regard to it, whenever disaffection and contention have disturbed the ordinary equanimity of the national pulse; conciliatory sentiments and acts, united with appeals to the common patriotism of the country, have never failed until the present exigency to raise sufficient internal force to stay the pressure outward, and to give increased strength to the love of union. Several times it has been jeopardized and put to the most trying ordeal, through which it has severally passed only partially alienated, not absolutely divided. Dissolution has been a political term too ominous of fatalities to obtain long credence and determined support, as the obligations and painful apprehensions were evidenced to show its folly and its dangers once entered upon.

Public dissensions and the dissolution of the peaceable connection of states, was the fatal rock on which ancient

republics struck and sunk under the abyss around them, impossible to be raised to their former condition from the wrecks of fallen greatness; sad examples of degeneracy, mistaken will and blinded zeal. They fell victims to their own delusions, jealousies and usurpations, unadmonished, it is true, by previous experiments in free governments under accumulating rivalries and wrongs engendered by the unfriendly pursuit of exclusive and surpassing advantages, seeking redress through the instrumentality of the arts of warfare waged in an aggressive form, and state was reduced by state; increased in number conquest ruled the policy of councils, and the liberties of the people were eventually seized in the eager grasp to obtain imperial sway. The union of those republics was composed of detached members, joined together by league for their common protection. They were not personally responsible to each other as individuals, or in their state governments, and were consequently, more at liberty to fly off from these unions and augment their own resources.

The American Union of States, established by the people of the states acting as the original sources of all political power, existing and creative, either as states, or legally organized communities by logical consequence, places the individual citizen in precisely the same relation to it, so far as the federal powers extend, as to union effected in states, with no more liberty to withdraw from the one than the other. This was doubtless intended to fortify it from dismemberment through the intimate relations naturally ensuing between it and the people, maturing

with those of the states, and almost equally pressing on them for support. This was a happy conception in the popular advance made by the American people in forming states and an union. The same corresponding degree of popular responsibility runs through the entire system of Federal and State governments; both being supported by suffrage exercised by similar modes of procedure.

The Union of the United States, though tending at times, heretofore, to dissolve by acts of secession on account of preferred local grievances, has manifested a much greater purpose of extension by acquisitions made to its territory, suitable for new states. In this way it has been more than doubled in size, extending Westward from the father of waters to the Pacific Ocean. The policy of extension has been doubted as likely to weaken the strength and durability of the whole from too great diversity of interests, and the weight of sectional portions liable in the revolution of affairs to become dissatisfied with their relative position as beneficiaries in it, and as supporters of it. Circumstances have favored the addition of country by merely exending boundaries South and West; yielding to the love of possession in this respect as an object in attaining greater security for the first property and Union.

Without intermediate land or water, of foreign jurisdiction, boundaries have been perfected affording natural limits to geographical extent, and of physical advantage; unifying and equalizing commercial transactions embracing every variety of soil, production and facility of transportation, and making the inhabitants of this vast region

emphatically one people with a single exception—that of the colored race, once sparsely spread over the entire Republic, now confined in a restrictive condition to the South. The unity and the utility of the people respectively, associated under representative government, State and National, evidently have a dependence on territorial compactness and the means of easy and useful intercourse. This essential has never yet been departed from in the increase of states.

The only fearful difficulty that has attended the organization of new American States within the limits of the union, has been on account of the absence of clear constitutional power to legislate for them before completing their necessary preliminary preparation to become such, having proper resemblance to the old ones. The domestic institution of the South, as a political, economic question, has divided public opinion and caused opposition to extending in the latitude of it, where it would follow the people in occupying new land, and indeed this has been the dividing issue since such acquisitions have been made, and which has lately broken the unity of the Union.

To reconcile the relation of perpetual servitude in the Union was originally a task of much delicacy, as being inconsistent with the principle of freemen or citizens who represent the sovereignty of the country, *abinito*, free aud independent persons, equally so, in the institution of their government and in the maintenance of it. This exception of political and social equality is confined to a particular race, and has the sanction of public law, as respects classes

of persons, for a period hardly having the date of its origin. This race were not historically or in fact the American proprietors, nor the parties to the formation of the governments. Some of the states have admitted these persons as co-political members of the majority and governing race. They form a local population and a small number compared with the anterior and superior class. What providence may have in store for them with the changes occuring, affecting and controlling the economy of persons and states, is hidden from the present eye of apprehension.

Northern and Southern States have dwelled together in union so long as to disprove the utterances concerning their incompatibility and want of adaptation in serving the industrial occupations of each. Their different products through a free system of interchanges have supplied each other's deficiencies, and increased their capital stock; more certain to follow from political union and identity of common interests, than when dependent on the laws of commerce, merely an artificial restraint on the conduct of communities toward each other, valuable only so far as the profit of wealth accrues from their observance. Commerce of itself is not a reliable defense against hostile acts, though influential in assuring peaceful relations. It has been repeatedly set aside to gratify the behests of revolution. Peace is its element; political disturbances are the bane of its legitimate prosecution; as they rage it withers through their destructive influences. The profits of the transactions between the North and the South, indeed the advantage of intercourse in any situation depends on the

preservation of peaceful and justly reciprocal connection.

Political unions of any description forming nationalities require that they shall be sufficiently extensive to have adequate power to enforce authority equal to the emergency arising, without seriously impairing their resources or endangering their stability. This is more requisite under free governments where power is retained in the hands of the people at large, awaiting the call of country and duty. Weakness and imbecility belong to small popular governments, unless sustained by the stronger aid of neighbors, more mindful of their own interest than in providing the shield of protection over minor powers, in guarding them against the evils of their own indiscretion and the inimical acts of hostile states. The instructions of history evince the danger of trusting the integrity of empire, in the hour of desperate need, to such friendly overtures for any considerable length of time.

Self-government and self-protection are the two national and international principles which lie at the foundation of American acts in internal regulation, and in fulfilling the sterner duties of defense against the imposing display of armed interference or open hostilities. These ideas popularly applied have carried the pioneer American government through a period not surpassed in important events by the nations of the world. A retrospect of the past in this line of observance may be usefully taken. Their moral may afford an insight into the alternatives of the future.

Of the first principle—self-government—as compre-

hending statesmanship in all its departments, it requires no bold assumption to claim for it a niche in the most elevated and ennobling monument transmitting the deeds of those who have devoted the choicest endowments of their nature to the service of the state; who have given distinguished prominence to questions pertaining to order, law and government, in illumining the apartments allotted to these objects by adding new gifts to the inferences respecting their true province of action, and in reducing them to a successful application. In interworking systems in the affections and justice of a people, credit is to be estimated by the success attained in drawing together a common brotherhood, whose separate rights should be attached to the common possession. In accomplishing this the highest acts of statesmanship with its right hand advocate, diplomacy, assisting, were perfected in founding government in the wilds of our great West, as the condition of pupilage was superceded by that of maturity, preceding and subsequent to the revolution.

Public exigencies of varied importance occurred through periods of distress, change and dubious uncertainty, to be accommodated to the requirements of near relations, the result of changed habits, sacrifices and imposing necessities. A movement in advance was due to the world-wide experiences and expectations culminating in a new age, to raise the popular element to its proper level as the chosen standard of another continent, pervaded at the start with free sentiments and fresh energies, gaining by degrees independence of pre-arranged conditions of political associ-

ation. Government, revolution and diplomacy were enacted on a scale astonishing to observing minds, and to the great actors in Europe. They were met with the spirit and the intelligence of equals, daring a nobler and truer illustration of political and religious connection, reduced to the substance of constitutional authority. The revolution won, the government established on the principle of repeated election and representation, full and complete in name and in fact, differing from those from which it sprung in the extent of this feature of it, it encountered more difficulty in the proceedings which led to its recognition, and the formation of treaties of peace and commerce, than would probably have occurred in Europe, if it had not been a departure from their cherished systems, and therefore standing in a position of political antagonism, possible to lower their repute if not to become a dangerous rival.

Before the conclusion of the contest, diplomatic representatives by their talents and address had secured friendly consideration and respectful audience at court, while a peradventure rested like a cloud over the last expedient to terminate the difficulties gathered in this British-American rupture. Benjamin Franklin, preceded by a great and good reputation, by his simplicity and directness was foremost in conciliating favorable attention abroad in the preparatory conduct of separation. He was ably seconded in his efforts by Adams, Lawrens and Jay in obtaining recognition for free republican America. The diplomatic ability of the young republic was displayed to fine advan-

tage under trying and discouraging circumstances subsequently in maintaining the rank of the United States, and in equaling the first nations in the observance of inter-national courtesies, and in the obtainment of substantial favors. At first, men eminent for their social, professional and political standing, were selected to represent their country in foreign courts. They enhanced its fame and negotiated treaty advantages which have been the basis of mutual understandings and regulations through all succeeding periods. The two Adamses, Livingston, Monroe, Gerry and Pinckney were associated with the first envoys to other nations, who contributed to promote the enviable distinction which has been acquired in the range of diplomatic powers, useful in impressing the weight of nationalities on the public mind of contemporaries.

The American government in progress brought with it the policy of its home and foreign management; toward other nations Washington, the first in the line of Presidents, observed circumspect and vigilant relations, abstaining from interfering with their complications, and avoiding "entangling alliances." The value of this course manifested itself in promoting friendship and in procuring kind offices in furthering its distinct interests while in a feeble and critical condition.

In the interior ministry of affairs the possibility, the unity and the prosperity of the government has been tried by the severest tests relating to men and measures. Parties have been successively organized on the issues dividing public opinion under modifications and re-construc-

tions with regard to the prevailing sentiments existing, in carrying forward their design for becoming definite convictions and the settled rules of observance in elaborating the central movements of the industrial and social state. They have at times almost drowned the deliberate voice of opinion, and impaired political usefulness by the vehemence of their course and their extreme and proscriptive practices. Time has, however, furnished the panacea for party abuses, by infusing new members among them as a counterpoise in council; and in their changing relative situation the absolutism of majorities has been tempered respectfully toward minorities, liable to supplant them in the free scope given to association whenever the claims of the common good fail to be properly answered. Parties of suitable proportions constitute the life of republics; they are dangerous only as they transcend the regular purposes for which they were created; when the well understood objects of their inception are perverted or misapplied they become engines of systematic wrong. Public discussion, the common exposition of their errors lead in the direction of truth, and preserve the integrity of their responsible relationship with ministerial duties. The interests of the many through parties are not likely to be vitiated by maladministration as a resulting effect, without the application of popular remedies, intelligently acting on dominent parties in reversing former decrees and elections by the choice of new representatives, and in the declaration of modified principles suited to the demands of new occasions of public policy, ever changing and claiming the

imperious obligations of citizens and states with the circumstances controlling acts.

Principles gravitating into measures have engrossed the speculative political mind to the very limit of judicious investigation and their beneficial disposition. Their novelty and their precise public bearing during the untried collisions of opinion concerning them, have combined to stimulate a vigorous support for them, and to occasion doubts of their particular usefulness more than usually attends mere modifications of existing conditions of constructive regulation. Extraordinary exertion has been put forth for or against them proportioned to their widely extended import, which has sometimes broken the ordinary harmony of our regulated freedom.

Fiscal affairs with regard to the payment of debts incurred introductory to our separate existence, taxation and the laying of duties for revenue, the improvement of the defenses, encouragement to the settlement of the vacant territory, and its acquisition to increase the resources and raise the just pretentions of the country, the promotion of interior regulations, of order, communication and commercial intercourse, the organization of departments of justice, of armies and navies; in short the creation of a newly devised system of civil administration in many important respects, drew largely on the inventive faculties of the representative portion in constructing the necessary schemes adequate to accomplish the required process leading to these ends. The first efforts of statesmanship were directed principally in opening the avenues embrac-

ing the future requirements of an active and increasing population. The ability for construction as distinguished from that of elaborating previous forces before the public understanding, was the distinctive power required to move the forces of states in the new track chosen for the multitude to pursue. The class originating with the organization of the government evinced a deep penetration into the secrets of popular success in its conduct, wholly under the direction of the populace, through representative forms gained by a close observation of the political facts of history. They seemed to have selected the excellencies of other systems through the ken of a well balanced comprehension of the connecting aids and dependencies of organic constructions, in their application in detail; omitting incongruous relations which had failed previously to subserve friendly purposes among different classes of persons, thus guarding against the dangers of usurpation and tyranny as far as was possible for the wisdom of man to anticipate errors of situation and performance. Independence of orders and sects in society was the peculiar emblem by which departures were taken from older governments; blending and harmonizing them under the patronizing presumption of civil authority. The universal principle of education and the constant infusion of fresh ideas and principles of integrity was a redeeming trait. This provided a never failing flow of maturing capacity approaching this point of acknowledged rank by regular public processes, expressive of its ever modifying will.

Of the advocacy of questions relating to government,

of constitutional law which they covered—measures without clear precedent in practice or legislation, volumes might be written full of oratorical significance and the profundity of argument; their usefulness, expediency and judicial propriety have given verge, in their consideration, to the power of senates and representative bodies, which has not been surpassed in the records of oratory and mastery over cognate subjects in the halls of deliberation of ancient or modern states. They have been so charged with the philosophy of popular life as to give them singular force, and to bring to their aid the assistance of speech no more lofty as efforts of declamation than sound in reasoning. Their determination has been effected either by compromising interests of local necessity, absolutely indispensible in their connection, at the point of their termination as settled issues of agitation, dictated by a wise regard for the tranquillity and useful relations of all, or by carrying their decision triumphantly over the ramparts of opposition. The two most difficult and dangerous subjects which have perplexed and divided the public mind, that of revenue by duties, and domestic servitude, have been terminated by compromise in one way or another; finding the medium ground of extreme contrariety of views when dispair has well nigh seemed to engulf the disputants in an impracticable mass of confusion unable to move further in the prosecution of definite purposes.

Reference to the records of American courts of legislation, as well as to those of the law, may prove of infinite advantage in leading the inquiring citizen or legislator

through the labyrinths of complicated questions hereafter, embracing those revived as well as those originating from the current movement of events. In the category of finished statesmen, chief among those whose fame will go down to a distant posterity and give distinction to forensic eloquence and parliamentary proceedings of Constitutional American government, standing conspicuously above their contemporary associates like the massive oaks of the forest, are Webster, Calhoun, and Clay, sons of free America by birth, of the second generation—the defenders of the Constitution and the advocates of the interests of the people.

The judiciary has been ably represented and sustained by a Marshall, a Story and a Kent, of the same generation just passed the stage of public labors. Their monument is contained in their works which will remain to adorn legal truths interpreted from the fountains of justice interlaid with the civil organization, the offspring of the principles of the revolution. In the investigation of the true laws of cause and effect in their varied operation and limitation, in acuteness of perception, in certain learning, our jurisprudence is a fitting erection on the complete appearing structure of long preceding construction.

In no respect has the rightful authority of the states of the Union of 1776 been exemplified more remarkably than in their defensive attitude, and in their acts of conquering peace with other nations. War the prolific source of injustice, of meditated invasions on established rights, has been hitherto singularly conducted on principles of

humanity and fair dealing, favorable in effect on the results proceeding from this fatal resort. In that of 1812, the second war of independence, and in that with Mexico, the happy auguries of success followed the arms of our marshaled forces, taken from the field, the workshop and the professions as volunteers, the natural physical force of a republic, to gether with what is called a standing military and naval force, educated, disciplined and supported for the daily requisitions of such service. Difficulties of about equal imminence to the combatants stood in the way of their progress.

The alacrity ever shown in supporting this important dependence, the umpire of the final arbitration of contentions between unyielding nations, has been creditable to the steady adherence of the people to the heritage of their fathers, in maintaining and enlarging it according to the opportunities offered by the exigencies of passing occasions. The standard for the support of the government and laws has been no sooner raised than thousands have flocked forth to defend it, to quell violent disturbances at home, or to repel the invader of our homes and the destroyer of our firesides. In all cases hitherto whether among the disagreeing people of the East or among the aboriginal tribes of the West, when the cry of arms and revolt has been heard, they have been quickly met with the musket and the rifle as the assailants neared the scenes of encounter.

Several times domestic insurrections have raised their inimical forms in the states, arising from disaffections tow-

ard the laws, sometimes from that influential incentive to sedition the raising of revenue, which has always at intervals occasioned complaint under every government that has existed, and not infrequently artifices to avoid this recompense for the blessings of law and systematic immunity from the evil consequences of unrestrained freedom. They have not been confined to any one state, nor have they occurred in all of them in the instances to which allusion is made. In one instance, that of Rhode Island, the authority of the state was subverted or doubted by one claiming equal rights, as tried by numbers, without specific constitutional law, which had been impossible to arrive at in the regular course. This though was a case of revolution espoused by a party feeling the pangs of inequality and the absence of democratic justice, in the withholding of the common right of suffrage as the privilege of citizenship without regard to property holding. The love of order, loyalty to the due and single course of the law, in all instances, and in this, finally prevailed, not without however securing concessions in the spirit of compromise, demanded in favor of the general exercise of suffrage as the price of customary peace. This was a palpable cause of revolution and open defiance of the government instituted to serve the Commonwealth.

To speak of the republic, of the many engagements distinguishing the achievements of the sword, and in perpetuating the glories of the arms of the revolution against attacks from foreign soldiery, the battles of Lake Erie, New Orleans, and the series of Mexican campaigns may

be singled out as justly calling forth a never failing admiration for the skill and the courage which have led a united and disciplined people to victorious results. Prominent among them who have sustained these fortunes and sent a thrill of glowing patriotism throughout this favored land, Jackson, Scott and Taylor of the army, and Perry and Hull of the navy may be named, now reposing with a single exception in the tomb of a nation's grateful recollections, which they so nobly defended and honored by their heroic deeds. Their labors and sacrifices of personal ease in the severe service of their country, to preserve its institutions and to maintain its entirety, are presented to those who are to follow them.

The last and most serious occasion in which the ability of the inherent power of self-defense to preserve its wonted majesty in the maintenance of the laws enacted, transpired in the ever to be remembered territory of Kansas, amidst a combination of political causes extending all over the Union, as unusual as they were violently advanced, having connection with questions bearing mainly on the rights of local and domestic regulation and government. Civil usages, martial forces, indeed the whole power "of State" was paralyzed and negatived through an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances unparalleled of their kind in our history, and different from anything of the nature of resistence to political authorities in other countries when revolt has manifested its unhappy conduct. Its peculiarity consisted in the fact of its being an experiment to found a state on the basis of others, under changed limitations un-

settled as principles, in reconciling all their institutions as fundamental conditions of their corporate existence, under the law of general consent during pupilage, until complete sovereignty was attained. The intermediate season, as carrying authority with it, formed the ground of dispute. There was no accepted judicial refuge governing principle by acknowledged adjudication, then in force, and hence the paralysis of the active powers of the government on the people, Here is an instance of the importance of a learned and trusted judiciary as the arbiter of the propriety, and the strict legal right of the acts performed by persons and official bodies.

The principles of self-government and self-defense, in a political sense, were sorely tried through the inoperative agencies proceeding from a government unsustained by the support of the requisite public sentiment. The same political disqualification, and the discouraging influences there first exhibited, have had wide-spread dissemination. They were reflected among the different states of the Union, and they have precipitated political relations into their present anomalous situation.

Great public crises, which every country, and every form of government is liable to encounter, ever bring with them doubtful prospects with regard to the permanence of administration under free existing orders and combinations. Every friend of stability and regular government must feel a solicitude for the existence of all established civil rule equal to the stake which may be individually possessed in the common stock of represented interests, comprehended

in the regulation and protection of the varied rights and relations of civilized life. These periods are superinduced much by inordinate exhibitions of the errors and vices becoming connected with public affairs, and attaining a disproportionate growth compared with the true and just features of organized action. They are also the fruits somewhat of that class of persons belonging to all social life, known as speculators and reformers, watching the first symptoms of change in opinions and conduct respecting habits and institutions, eager to push forward the supposed advances in religious and political liberty on the plane of their inclination. Without them it is quite evident that the reformatory processes of the past affecting religion, politics and liberty, would have been far less realized than has been the result to bless the world of happiness and its inborn community of fortunes. The only danger to be apprehended from the labors of bold speculative theories consists in their being led by a too great zeal into the mires of rank fanaticism.

The question of governments in fact bear a near relation to and have a dependence on their moral support in times of contention in relation to their claims to credence—that of right, in the absence or failure of physical forces acting compulsorily through the direction of the magisterial authority on the approbatory counsels of the governed. It belongs to the right in all difficult public emergencies to assert her commanding agency in reconciling the conflicting elements of state, and to take her proper place in their final umpirage. It is not to be argued that governments

fully organized in a state of peace, are instituted on foundations of temporariness, but rather that they are intended to be perpetual and as enduring in their whole vocation, open to amendment and enlargement suited to their projected purposes in encompassing all the auxiliaries presented in furthering their benevolent designs. To argue the contrary is to keep open the way to revolution, an element always imbedded in national existence, to be improved whenever it may gain sufficient force to make itself effectual either in thwarting or overthrowing existing systems, peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary, when condemned for any cause, however specious and indefensible under a broad view of things, as a mode of obtaining satisfaction from the public. Notwithstanding, revolution exists as a right when the redress of grievances, real and apparent, becomes impossible in deliberate modes, justifiable, too, in the natural order of events leading the course of justice.

Under a proper government with its several parts subordinated to the process of repeated change, and consequently its patronage held up as a bid to successful partnership, the many subjects of policy arising promotive of the means of gaining popular favor tend to the extension of the first principles recognized and adjusted in organic forms. Early opinions become modified with the many changes wrought by the hand of time, begetting strife between privilege and liberty. Free discussion and free action are the joint instruments in effecting public results The liability of collapsing into confusion and ceaseless tur-

moil is one of the evils besetting a republic. A great self-governing community must be well poised in the depths of political truth, national equality and steadfast purposes to stand the vigorous and persistent efforts of an enterprising people having a materialism differing in nature and in its direction, depending for its security on a comprehensive intelligence adapted to the highest estimate of the principles of economy the most useful to the individual, state or country intwining the common welfare in one distinct and inseperable unity.

Continued safety is to be promoted by closely observing Constitutional limitations, and by looking for change when unavoidable, in their terms alone as a curative for the ills which may stifle the freedom of national development without invidiously excluding any one portion or unduly encouraging another in the march to greater proportions, rather than to dissolution and the chances of a more satisfactory re-construction; setting the reasoning and reflective faculties of man at work in producing necessary constructive modifications without civil revolution; obtaining peaceable relations without bloodshed—reorganization without anarchy which is but a step from despotism.

The political crisis which has lately visited the United States, and which has finally resulted in a declared separtion of the Union, by acts of State Secession as a revolutionary resort at an unprecedentedly unhappy and discordant period, during which disaffection and discord have seemed to be an epidemic of hardly definable extent. This has been one of the unfortunate consequences, in a

large degree, of the question of African servitnde, now belonging to the States of the South, assuming a national turn and entering into the popular dissensions with other subjects arising and seeking new disposal through the dicta of the whole body of the republic. The enlargement of the public domain and its formation into new states, with people and institutions, has led to it: the industrial system of the South having sought new fields of enterprize in this acquired region, its strict morality and pecuniary value have been discussed and considered, intemperately at times, inflaming and disturbing the whole country, embracing those having only a remote interest in its disposition.

The want of clearly expressed Constitutional powers covering the law of organization and government for the territories in their intermediate condition—a kind of colonial rank--before reaching the full stature belonging to states, has occasioned this contention in relation to the right of congress to act as a court in determining their economy in whole or in part. The shining examples of the Thirteen Colonies which formed the front ground of the great republic of the United States, are in favor of freedom of settlement and of choice in all social and political matters, consistent with the ability of every separate community to meet its responsibilities and national obligations. The paramount doctrines of our free system may be said to be included in the independence of the community, the state, and the nation.

The voluntary separation of the United States, their

course in the future, the fate of American society and nationality forms one of the most striking political problems of this pregnant age of the world, in its influence and effect on other peoples and nations. This American people are looked to to furnish the precedents to guide other republics in the experiment of attaining mature national relations. The magnitude of this task is only subordinate to the eternal laws of truth and honorable dealing.

I have thus far surveyed the province of American Colonization, the consummation of governments on the most elevated and comprehensive popular foundations, and their advancement as compared with those which have preceded them down the slope of time as far as authenticity extends. The tribute of our sincere respect is due those whose forecast, instructive customs and generous services for posterity pioneered America to her present possessory opulence in the arts and properties of mankind.

This continent seemed destined at a new epoch to invite, under a higher standard of public qualifications and Christion discipline in the aggregate, a new and brighter civilization than had been the lot of any people to attain by the simple force of their own recognized sovereignty and equality, themselves the providential agents in enlarging the boundaries of civil jurisprudence which had become visibly effete, popularly, by contact with unsympathetic and hostile elements during an interval when the frowns of Omniscience seemed to pervade the earth and to shadow it with the gloomy and unprogressive steps of a semi-civilized state, seemingly waiting for a renewed im-

petus in the onward course. This was furnished in considerable part by the Christian movement beginning with the sixteenth century. Pure Christianity to a democratic government is what the sun is to the solar system, around which planets revolve and receive their light and warmth: it gives life and fructifies into activity the justest conceptions devised to lead society to the goal of its highest and greatest good. Inhospitable and barren of happy ends must be those relations, unsustained by this mysteriously animating agency: degeneration is sure to follow in the footsteps of a receding Christianity as darkness follows the light of day. This conclusion is drawn from the experience of the world since its rays were first directed among its countless multitudes.

In America the bases of states were laid deep in the public will, resting on its consent for continuance and the mode of executing the purposes declared in view. We have the fruition of ages of suffering, of toil, of trial, of approved excellence in government depending on free and intelligent citizens, the true architects and the supporters of a state. Citizens on whom rest immeasurably greater responsibilities than ever befel a continental population, whose first breath has been that of assured civil liberty, as their keepsake, springing almost from the virgin soil planted with the seeds of public benevolence.

What of the future? This is a question as sad to contemplate in this the darkest of all our dilemmas, as it is difficult to answer. This leading power, the United States, has buffeted the storms falling from the political sky now

more than three score years and ten, at last stranded on the rocks of secession, awaits the issues of its future.

States at the South nourished in the arms of the Union, till they have reached full grown manhood, too conscious of their admitted power, have withdrawn from the embrace of a common fellowship to find their way through other associations. The Union, to which they were indebted for their safe progress, and to which their first obligations of nationality were due, has been broken, avowedly on an abstract question of domestic economy always objected to by many as a theory, but notwithstanding accommodated of necessity to the objects entertained in its formation.

The vicissitudes and the alternatives of the past certainly afford some criterion for the future. When old Constitutions and acts of authority have proved to be prejudicially deficient, the maturity of circumstances and inclinations has been completed in the states by supplying the essential charter or organic privileges, through the assemblage of the people in new conventions to make good their fundamental conditions. This must ever be the recourse of every great community or family of such communities to heal the wounds of reasonable dissatisfaction, and to renew the health and vigor of the national body with parts of it or the whole showing aversion to existing settlements. We have already national examples, besides those of the states, of recurrence to the will of the people in convention in the failure of delegated power to right the ship of state. That of 1787 was the second emanation of the popular mind brought to a close reflection of its

capabilities for additional pledges of mutual good will and co-operation. This event has been signalized by many years of prosperous connection impossible to have been realized under that of the Confederation.

Such has been the past course as a radical remedy for public grievances felt to be serious, and requiring adjustment, without annulling agreements, destroying contracts or placing states in open disorder. This last peaceable resort must always address itself with never failing arguments to large numbers when discontented with pre-arranged conventionalities, with stronger force than any resons which may be offered for disrupting Confederacies for the ordinary causes affecting political harmony. It is a safeguard against civil revolution, the worst foe that a free people can possibly have to contend with. This has been found even necessary, and has been justified in the eye of nations in extraordinary cases after long and obstinate resistance to conceding to the appeals made in favor of equal justice; but what shall be said when the people are the responsible legislators and the party to their own imperfect legal privileges; the right of revolution in this case can only be referred to the offensiveness of their connection, with their wrongs unredressed, when separation is not legally possible if demanded as a relief for evils existing in Union, and to the impossibility of restoring controlling power among them. Cast on the uncertain highway of the ocean of politics, with a public opinion rendered strong and untractable, chance alone has much to do in restoring order and duly regulated law.

The exigencies of the Union of 1787 have changed with the current movement of affairs to reflect their important concern in the distance, occasioning new reconciliations and regulations agreeably to the spirit of preconceived sound policy, keeping pace with the valuable discoveries made in constructive arrangements in forwarding the natural means of advantage.

It would be far from any ordinary apprehension to imagine an extended political combination or Union which would not after the lapse of considerable time, require the parties to it to reconsider the terms of their connection, and amend them so as to cover existing facts which have appeared to be dealt with, not already fully anticipated and provided for. To assert the contrary would be an attempt to disprove the laws of our being, including that inexorable one of change written on the face of all nature, pervading the earth, the heavenly bodies, indeed all that is, and universally applicable to every conceivable condition of human society. Change in constructive statutes cannot properly be expected to occur often. They must be illfounded in fact and in theory to justify frequent remodling, which is as uncomplimentary as it may be expected to be unsound to the wisdom of constructive bodies. Very common innovations of this kind without due compensation, clash with settled policies of states solemnly sanctioned, and become engrafted by usage in the effective working of their public concerns.

Time, the intelligent servant of the world, and the wise regulator of its finiteness, foibles, and wise judgments in

the means of achieving speculative and very apparent results, in its march, is constantly revealing to inquiring humanity knowledge of its perpetual and improving condition. Purposes are committed to its instructive aids wrought out through its revolutions, and impressed on the observing faculties. Old states and new may profit by the lessons of daily experience, and the advantage gained thereby in affording closer observation of the dependent connection continuing between all created things in their separate form, to be combined and rendered available to obvious necessities.

Science in government, as distinguished from skill in administering when these hands have become weary, so indispensible in material designs in adding to improvements experimentally shown to be useful, holds within its secrets a projectile power by which states are moved along in the direction of the ascending scale of their appointed enterprises. In applying its truths, derived by reflection and reasoning, to the principles of civil construction, a wide margin is furnished for comprehending the susceptible qualities of the elements of combination to secure appropriate and worthy ends. The success of a popular government in administration and perpetuity, depends primarily on three pre-requisites having resultant effect and direct relation with each other—the science to construct and systematize, the skill and integrity to execute the laws, and a prevailing spirit of approbation influencing the public judgment and exerting its good offices of conciliation, and tempering the alternative steadiness of purpose neces-

essary to promote objects desigued to be permanent.

The American system of republics and unions furnishes a compromise to break the absolutism of government, on the other continent, where the less liberal political system prevails. The popular experiment with us is the great example of the world, if it should fail and meet the fate of ancient republics, be merged under military or despotic powers, the capacity for self-government overbalanced and lost by vaulting indiscretions which cannot brook the reverses of evil times, the saddest news ever clouding popular prospects will then be heralded in this advanced age throughout the limits of civilization, to render comfortless the aspirations of people faining more liberal privileges from a sense of their contingent insecurity.

The United States has been the Colussus, the observed and the model in the American family; her giant strides in making progress in all the ways leading to deserved greatness, has been the subject of astonishment to contemporaries, while it has proclaimed an amazing triumph over all the confronting obstacles which have intercepted betimes their forward course. Thanks to union, conciliation, compromise, and principle. These speak louder than the strongest speech, and plead the law of the future. Less than one hundred years old, united, they have run the race accomplished only through several centuries of inferior opportunities by their illustrious predecessors, and not yet completing the national roll of their promised employments and requitals.

Having a country which can be said to be in a state of

completeness in but one respect, in its forms of government, with every desirable latitude and production, very far from being peopled or developed, just ripening into a condition of maturity and honorable security relative to other nations, the pressure of disunion breaks the charm and confounds the probabilities to follow hereafter. Useless are the labors of the founders of our free institutions if disunion is to be quickly regarded as the remedy to heal the wounds of co-States. That other sentiment embodied in Union which has been so long apparent in the minds and hearts of Americans, is now addressed with momentous concern to their sober reflection. Union and domestic peace, through justice and charity, in state and of States, resting on legitimate sanction and concurrent consent, of magnitude sufficient as has been the case with the United States to overcome domestic dissensions which have infected their body, and repel invasion come whence it may. They have formed the corner stone in almost perfect proportion of republican Union on this continent. These States struck out of the massive structure in which they have so long rested, and replaced with broken pieces, the moral and the permanence of suitable Union will become oppressed with distrust relating to their issue. This consideration is profoundly entitled to weight in arriving at deliberate decisions by our people, who were the first to embark under the banner of democratic systems. They are under obligations to themselves and to those who are to follow them, amid all the perils which may surround or permeate the country, to abstain from destroying its in-

tegrity, or vitiating the principle of popular rule which has been so justly grounded in American policy.

Representative Union is the citadel wherein is stored the auxiliaries of democratic-republican perpetuity. To be practicable it must conform to the requirements of our age. This is the instructive example of the past: next to civil liberty in importance, in truth its guaranty, it is the last essential principle to crown American nationalities with the element of prosperity and assured advancement in the sphere of their free and co-operative mission in ennobling and strengthening by real experience the broadest theories of political freedom.

KEENE, N. H., 3d Nov. 1852.

DR. GEORGE C. SHATTUCK:

Boston, Mass.,

Dear Sir:

I shall attempt without delay to acknowledge the reception of two valuable presents from you, to wit: a beautiful silver watch, and six elegant volumes containing the life and works of that universally conceded intellectual giant of his age--Daniel Webster—" The Great Secretary," who has just paid the debt of nature, so suddenly, yet how impressively!

I have long been aware that a warm friendship and high personal regard was entertained by my father for you, and as the recipient of these unexpected gifts, I feel that it is a mode delicately chosen by yourself in which his feelings are most truly and substantially reciprocated, rather than from any special claim which I, (a personal stranger,) may have upon your characteristic benevolence.

In this inadequate expression of my acknowledgement of your beautiful gifts, permit me to say, that they are received with the liveliest feelings of pleasure; and that I indulge the sincere hope that each gift will be treasured and improved by me to an extent which shall justify, partially, at least, those considerations which actuated the

donor in offering this finely conceived tribute of his personal kindness, and I am not unwilling to believe foreshadowing his friendship.

I desire to say for my brother, John Rogers, who lives in Worcester, Mass., that the accompanying watch will be most gratefully appreciated by him as a token of your kind consideration.

With the assurance of my high esteem,
I am your much obliged
and humble servant,
J. G. PERRY.

WASHINGTON, 4th May, 1853.

DR. GEORGE C. SHATTUCK:

Boston, Mass.,

Dear Sir:

Permit me to write you even at this late period, agreeably to my promise at the time I left your house in February last. I intended to write before this, but have neglected to do so up to the present period, from causes arising chiefly from my unsettled manner of living in this city, and the many calls made upon my time and attention, though it has not driven from my mind the claim which you have upon me for a faithful observance of my promise to you.

The excitement and confusion consequent upon the inauguration of President Pierce is fast giving way to quiet and monotony. The Inaugural ceremony brought an immense concourse of people hither to witness the very imposing spectacle, and to participate in the enjoyment of the fruits resulting from this change in the national destinies.

Mr. Everett* complimented the President in his Clayton-Bulwer speech very handsomely for the discreet use made of the appointing power. By the way, speaking of

* Edward Everett.

Mr. Everett's speech on that occasion, I would say, that I listened to it with much delight. It was a beautiful speech, and most eloquently delivered; well worthy of old Massachusetts. It was received by the senate with marked and profound deference. Mr. Everett made his *debut* in the senate in a manner well calculated to win the respect and admiration of the democratic side of the senate and the country, and to establish for himself a reputation which will place him in the first rank, if not the first, among the most accomplished statesmen of his political faith.

Washington is improving wonderfully. It contains a population of 50,000. The construction of railroads and telegraphs lessen the probabilities of its being dropped as the seat of government, while the integrity of the Union is preserved.

Congress voted large sums of money at its late session to complete the public buildings, and to improve the public grounds; also to bring water into every part of the city, in imitation of the New York and Boston method of obtaining a sufficient and never failing supply of good fresh water. This will be an invaluable acquisition to the comforts and requirements of this city; not only for the immediate wants of its inhabitants, but on account of fires, which will cease to be so destructive as at present. The fire department is now in a wretched condition, and even if it were not, the abscence of the important element of water would cripple its efficiency.

Southern indolence and inactivity will gradually give way to northern enterprize, as northern people with their

more thrifty notions accumulate in this region; and the future growth of this city will be more solid and substantial. This feature is already visible in parts of this city, hence wealth will be of slow increase, and it must depend much upon foreign acquisitions brought here and expended by those who may conclude to take up a residence at the capital of the "Model Republic."

In thirty years, if nothing untoward happens, Washington will be a magnificent city, full of the *elite* and fashion, of which there is a good representation even now during the winter, and it is rapidly on the increase.

The "dear people" will do well to observe Jackson's sentiment, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Their representatives need the closest surveillance in the discharge of the responsible trust confided to them, in any degree deficient in those high and honorable qualifications indispensible to the useful and safe legislator.

With perfect respect and esteem,

Your obliged friend and servant,

J. G. PERRY.

REMARKS IN THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION, RELATING TO THE DEATH OF EX-PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Mr. President: In regard to the resolution touching upon the recent decease of one of the Ex-Presidents of the United States, I ask the indulgence of this Convention that I may speak with reference to it.

I will here remark that my personal acquaintance with him of whom I am about to speak was rather limited, and chiefly confined to the period when he administered the affairs of this government as the Chief Magistrate, at Washington, before the late struggle for the present life of the nation, and immediately subsequent to the passage in congress of what were called the Compromise Measures of 1850. Franklin Pierce was of revolutionary descent, and educated under the influences bearing upon the events of that revolution. He united in his professional and public character those elements of fitness which a patriotic and free people were quick to see and appreciate, and which culminated in his election to the Presidency—the chief executive office of this country.

Of the trials incident to his term of office I will not now proceed to speak. It is enough to say that they were

of sufficient magnitude to arrest the attention of the public mind as never before, particularly with reference to the question of slavery. This question was then in embryo, though it was supposed to be settled by leading men of the times; but, alas! it was destined ere another decade of years should pass over the life of this free republic to engross a public attention which had never before been accorded to it, and which resulted in an embittered war of four long and painful years. That struggle is now ended. May we not most earnestly and sincerely hope that we may again return to our family firesides, and to our political fidelity to the richest Union which any people under the sun have ever hitherto enjoyed.

It was the fortune of General Pierce, sir, to be the first and only President who has yet been elected to that high and responsible office from his native state, New Hampshire; a state that has been distinguished for giving birth to remarkable intellect that has shed a lustre upon the annals of this country, I will say, second to none in the history of "recorded time." I need not mention to you the name of Webster,* or Woodbnry,† or pass from the mere intellectual man to the sphere of the tented field to prove to you the truth of this assertion.

General Pierce certainly had good reason to be proud of the distinction conferred upon him by his patriotic fellow citizens, in passing through the several grades of public service, the legislature of the state, both branches of the congress of the United States, together with very consid-

* Daniel Webster. † Levi Woodbury.

erable military service in the war with Mexico; thus filling in the turn of events the highest office in the gift of his countrymen, which had been sufficient to call forth the largest measure of ambition known to our public councils.

In the loss of Ex-President Pierce, the state and the country lose a distinguished citizen, one of whom it may be said that to know him was to become acquainted with a line of public men and statesmen, who had lived to serve their country, and their generation, that great principles of freedom and humanity may find a resting place on this noble heritage of American soil.

SPEECH IN TOWN MEETING, DR. GEORGE B. TWITCHELL, PRESIDING, RELATIVE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CITY OF KEENE.

Mr. Moderator: I rise under the question of adjournment. I have been asked to speak with regard to the occurrence now about taking place in this community. In complying, I will detain you but a short time. It seems to me quite fit, as well as pertinent, that something of a public character should be said in the presence of this Town Meeting, which is probably the last one of its kind that will be held by our fellow citizens of Keene, in performing public business pertaining to its organization as a town.

It has already passed its one hundredth anniversary as a town. More than one century has elapsed since this event, in 1753, according to the "Annals of Keene";* filling its own part in the active, as well as momentous occurrences in the history of our commonwealth of States. However creditably and befitting to herself I will not now repeat to this meeting. I may say, notwithstanding, that we have only to look around and see and feel the evi-

* Annals of the Town of Keene, from its first settlement, in 1734, to 1815, by Salma Hale.

dences of her life, impulses, and moral and material growth.

This public building, the domes of our churches, our places of merchandize, our public school buildings, and public and private residences, the works of monument, our streets, and our surrounding agricultural employments and improvements bespeak unworded notice and distinction.

I will not now speak of her citizens by way of distinction; these evidences of natural, as well as of inherent merit, speak volumes, of themselves. The history of the town is to be found in the walks of a living generation, among the many objects present descriptive of it.

We have arrived at the juncture of a change in its organization. This is the result of some time of effort, with the co-operation of the parties to it. "The Fathers of the Town" have the duty now before them to yield their respective trusts resting with them, to their successors, who are to take upon themselves the duties and responsibilities devolving upon a new organization. As I have observed, the town is to become known as a city; this is to be its style. It is indeed, in the process of time, now just before us, to have for its government that form which shall "establish the city of Keene."

Its maintenance and support will rest with its succeeding citizens. To them will belong the duty of preserving and developing its future. If there is any one feature to be mentioned as distinguishing a large body corporate from a small one, it is in an industrial and comprehensive

sense—business. This underlies the future of Keene. As it shall accumulate, combine and utilize, so will its future be assured.

A city of the country, rather than of the seaboard, it belongs to country associations and connections, under the Providence of God, to constitute a city, suited to the experience and advantageous position of this community.

I can only say, let us invoke a wise and judicious economy in this undertaking, and trust the events to the results of time.

I thank you, Mr. Moderator and fellow citizens, for listening to these remarks of mine.

NATIONAL UNION.

This subject is presented pertinently in the light of contemporaneous history. Having reference to its ruling phase, it is to be here observed in relation to this subject that Charles Sumner, a professional lawyer of Massachusetts, became an eminent advocate, in congress, of the freedom of the negro race, that had become domiciliated with the country. He supported this course on the fundamental ground of abstract principle and justice toward a class of people, who had not been able to be recognized or admitted to the equal citizenship of the governing race.

Among those entertaining corresponding ideas and views touching this question, as leading and equal participants in its agitation, were Salmon P. Chase, William H. Seward, and Henry Wilson.

The dominant party, pertaining to this public question, in agitation, was prominently maintained by Stephen A. Douglas, having also as principal auxiliaries, Lewis Cass, Robert Toombs and Jefferson Davis.

The ground taken by them was, that of recognized constitutional authority and the "claims of private interest," uniting in opposition to interfering with its political relation toward the country.

This question continued to assume wide-spread and inevitable relations, in and out of congress, and finally took its culminating effect, aside from any lawful *status*, in the Territory of Kansas, where extensive civil disorder, and the prostration of the functions of regular government ensued, leading to armed forces and their consequent proceedings between the authorities and the opposing population, at extreme variance in the disposition of the question of African slavery, as it respected this territory.

In 1861, civil war, through Confederate States, became a fixed event. Thence following, on the 15th of April, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, issued a Proclamation for the raising of seventy-five thousand men to defend the "National Union," with its property, already menaced and in the utmost peril, amid the conduct of civil war.

In the personnel of this state of war, Abraham Lincoln as the Union Executive, and General Ulysses S. Grant, as the commanding general of the army, its counterpart was represented by Jefferson Davis, in executive capacity, and by General Robert E. Lee, of Virginia, as its military commander.

The war followed in its course between the opposing forces engaged in its continuous prosecution, without apparent result, as respects this American strife, in priority of public sentiment, and in the greater development of public opinion, subject to its own evident conclusion, in obedience to the ruling principle holding its vitality.

The secret principle interwoven in its palpable exist-

ence was one of freedom, as respected a race of African decent.

It presented an opportunity of displaying one of those acts in human affairs, affording groundwork in law and government. On the 1st Jan. 1863, Abraham Lincoln issued his crowning and preponderant act of Proclamation of Emancipation, invoking therewith "the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

This led the way for the obvious overthrow of the war against the Union, resting between military forces, through the Confederate surrender of General Robert E. Lee to General Ulysses S. Grant, at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, on the 9th April, 1865.

The National Union of the United States is the emblem of American faith in free government, and the hope of the world in its progress, and in its constant character of useful and abiding results.